



The campaign of 1758

James Austin Holden

Harvard College Library



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Howe

NEW HISTORICAL LIGHT

ON THE

REAL BURIAL PLACE

OF

George Augustus Lord Viscount Howe

BY

JAMES AUSTIN HOLDEN, A. B.

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(From Contemporary and Original Sources.)

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v.



Brightford



Courtesy of S. H. P. Pell. From Photo Given Him by Descendants in Howe Family
GEORGE AUGUSTUS, LORD VISCOUNT, HOWE. (1724-1758)
Killed at Ticonderoga July 6

NEW HISTORICAL LIGHT ON THE REAL BURIAL PLACE OF GEORGE AUGUSTUS LORD VISCOUNT HOWE, 1758.

(From Contemporary and Original Sources.)

By JAMES AUSTIN HOLDEN, A. B.

[**PREFATORY NOTE.**—Owing to his sickness at the time of the October meeting which prevented his personal presentation of this paper, the writer was very fortunate in having it read in his customary acceptable and convincing manner by Sherman Williams, Pd. D. The necessity of giving the paper out of turn however, and the brief time which could be allowed for its rendering, made it necessary then to omit some parts and to condense others.

Since the annual meeting the writer has received from his expert searchers in England, and from several other sources, copies of official documents and letters which, while they confirm the writer's theories, throw an entirely different and new light on the whole affair. For the sake of historical accuracy, these papers have necessitated the recasting and rewriting of part of this article. This evidence being entirely new and vitally important, so far as now known, must be the excuse for thus changing the form of this paper, and the decision to present it.]

Some cynic has said, "all fiction is not history, but most history is all fiction." In the sense that all historical works reflect necessarily the individual opinions, prejudices, ideas and conclusions of their respective writers this aphorism is undeniably true.

It is the knowledge of this peculiarity in "us poor, frail, weak mortals" which compels and requires all historians to furnish facts, proofs and legal evidence to substantiate their claims. Permitting them only the field of tradition in which their imaginations may roam at will, to find material with which to garnish and adorn the bald, unromantic and dry details of fact.

As long as history shall be written therefore, just so long will there be two sides to every question, two parties to every discus-

sion, two rival bodies to espouse and battle for their supposed rights and historic prerogatives.

Realizing, then, that it is not often in these days that one is privileged to announce a real historical discovery, especially on a subject supposedly worn threadbare by generations of writers of history, it is with much pleasure that I offer to the Association, treasure trove, which up to the present time has remained unnoticed, or at least unused by other historians.¹

Five years ago in presenting to the Association my Monograph on "The Half-Way Brook in History,"² I called attention therein to the first authenticated and recorded evidence of the bringing of Lord Howe's body to Lake George on the initial stage of its journey to Albany. It was through the publication of that evidence, that the clew was secured which finally led to the historical discovery (using the word in the sense of bringing to notice something before unknown or unperceived), which is given to this Association as the trophy of a successful hunt.

We have listened at this meeting to the eloquent and splendidly prepared paper on George Augustus, Lord Viscount Howe. In this monograph, it is neither the province nor purpose of the writer, to present the biography of that beneficent, magnanimous, capable but ill fated gentleman, who was repeatedly called "the idol" as well as "the soul and honor of the British Army" of that day. It would be a work of supererogation to describe his association with the army under Abercrombie in the spring of 1758,³ or to more than touch upon the events leading up to the fateful July 6th. On

¹ In looking up this question, a careful investigation of four hundred or more historical works, pamphlets, monographs, and newspapers, covering this period, including supposedly authoritative papers on this topic, exhausting all then known references, made this statement one of fact. Since this paper was ready for the printer, however, I find that Kingsford's *History of Canada*, (London, 1890), IV, p. 165 (note)—quotes a part of this matter I have found, but makes no other use of it, so that my statement still holds true.

² Transactions N. Y. S. Hist. Assn. VI, pp. 169-189.

³ For the impress which this amiable, talented, accomplished and promising young officer made on those with whom he came in contact, especially the provincials, consult the journals of the various colonial officers referred to herein, also Mrs. Grant's "*Memoirs of an American Lady*," (ed. 1846, ch. XL) pp. 175-180; Dudley Bean's *Storming of Ticonderoga in The Knickerbocker*, XXXVI, No. 1 (July 1850), pp. 1-14; Grahame's *United States of North America* IV, p. 29; Hutchinson's *Province of Mass.* (ed. 1828), III, p. 71; Munsell's *Annals of Albany*, VI, pp. 296-297.

June 8th he took command of the troops at Fort Edward, and on June 20th camped at the Half-Way Brook with three thousand men. Here for two days he received reports from Major Rogers and associated with Stark, Putnam and the other colonial officers, making his dispositions for the battle which was to come.¹ Two days afterward he moved forward with his command to the head of Lake George encamping on the former site of Fort William Henry. During all the time that he was with the army, he endeavored to inculcate by personal example, in the regular forces, the lesson that Great Britain to the present day has apparently never been able to learn, that success perches only upon the banners of that army which observes, adapts and respects the war manners and tactics of the people with whom it fights.²

It is stated that he adopted the costume and customs of the provincial rangers and among other things, according to a letter dated from camp May 31st, 1758 "sacrificed a fine head of hair of his own as an example to the soldiers, so that not a man ⁶ to be seen with his own hair."³ This authority also states that it was cut short as it could be with the shears. I mention this here as it has its bearing on what comes a little later on.⁴

The army remained at Lake George until the early morning of July 5th. The triumphant procession down Lake George of sixteen thousand men, with their nine hundred bateaux and one hundred and thirty whale boats, filling the lake from shore to shore, in one grand, colorful, martial display; their encampment that night at Sabbath Day Point till nearly midnight; the landing

¹ Roger's *Journals*, (Hough's ed.), Munsell, (1883), p. 116; *Memoir of John Stark*, (Concord, 1860), p. 433; My "*Half-way Brook in History*," p. 174; *Reminiscences of the French War*, (Concord, 1831), pp. 68-69.

² As Kipling so well puts it in "*The Lesson*," written because of the Boer War.

"Not on a single issue, or in one direction or twain

But conclusively, comprehensively, and several times and again,

Were all our most holy illusions knocked higher than Gilderoy's kite,

We have had a jolly good lesson, and it serves us jolly well right."

The Five Nations, (Outward Bound ed.), pp. 113-115. The moral of which is, that the lesson taught Great Britain in the campaign of A. D. 1758, she had not yet learned in A. D. 1899.

³ M. Dudley Bean in *The Knickerbocker*, (July, 1850), pp. 10-11 who quotes the *Boston News Letter* of June 22, 1758.

⁴ See Watson in appendix.

at the Burnt Camp,¹ forever afterwards to bear the name of Howe's Landing, on the late morning of the 6th; the disembarking of the army, following Howe as he leaps ashore in the name of England and King George; the parade of enthusiastic, high-spirited troops who, drawn up in parallel columns marched in the early hours of the afternoon toward the fort, all need but the barest mention at this time.² We are all more or less familiar with the ordinary accounts of the unfortunate engagement in which the gallant and brilliant young soldier lost his life. These mostly taken from English sources naturally reflect somewhat the views of the British officers of that day.³

In order, however, to bring out more clearly the points the writer desires to make, he finds it necessary to recount as briefly as may be, in accordance with the written evidence recently discovered in this case, the story of Lord Howe's death from a new view point.

The Landing Place, afterwards known by his name as stated above, is approximately one third of a mile north, or towards the foot of the lake, from the present Lake George steamboat landing at Baldwin, in a small cove with a sandy beach, whose water approach has two feet average depth, and three feet depth to and about "Prisoner's Island," a third of a mile away.⁴ Some authorities having referred to "Cook's Landing" confusing it with Howe's

¹ The Burnt Camp or *Champ Brulé*, was the place where M. de Contrecoeur encamped in 1756, *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, p. 894; C. Van Rensselaer's "Centennial Address on the Capture of Ticonderoga, 1759," (Phila. 1859), p. 18.

² For description of the pageant down the lake and events antecedent to Lord Howe's death, see Bancroft, (ed. 1852), IV, pp. 300-301; Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, (Frontenac ed.), pp. 298-300; M. Dudley Bean in *The Knickerbocker*, (July 1850), pp. 14-15; W. Max Reid's, *Lake George and Lake Champlain* pp. 152-153; Butler's *Lake George and Lake Champlain* (Albany 1868), pp. 204-207; Holden's *Queensbury* p. 321; Dwight's *Travels*, III, pp. 364-365.

"Old Capt. Patchin' who was the first permanent settler within the limits of Warren County, and who had a short time previously, been sent forward as one of the advanced guard to examine the facilities for landing on Sabbath Day Point (where he afterwards settled) has often been heard to say as I have been informed, that the approach of Abercrombie's army was one of the most magnificent and imposing spectacles he ever witnessed."

A. W. Holden *Mss.* p. 409.

³ See Appendix for Bibliography of the Campaign.

⁴ S. R. Stoddard's *Standard Chart of Lake George*, (1910), Hydrographic Survey of 1906-7-8.

Landing, a letter to A. A. Heard, Gen. Passenger Agent of the D. & H. brought the following communication addressed to him, which is inserted for its local value to some future historian.

“• • • The old terminal at Lake George was what was always known as Cook's Landing. The Lord Howe Landing is in a little bay one and one-half miles south of Cook's Landing, refer to Stoddard's new chart, which will give you the situation as I understand it. So far as my records indicate here, the railroad between Fort Ti and Baldwin was completed and used for the first time during the season of 1875, and that year the present terminal at Baldwin was established, although for several years after that the company maintained their shipyards at the Old Cooks Landing Dock, and it was there that both the Strs. Horicon and Ticonderoga were constructed and laid up for the winter, and it was to the old dock the crews always went to bring out the boats in the spring, and to put them up in the fall.

I have a picture in my office of the old Str. Minnehaha¹ taken at Cooks Landing, the northern terminus on Lake George. I can't say what year that was, but the larger boats, the Horicon and Ticonderoga, never used Cooks Landing as a terminal as previous to the time of their building the present terminal at Baldwin was constructed and consequently the precise landing place of Lord Howe and his army was about one and a half miles south² of the old northern terminal on Lake George.”³

At the beach was a comparatively level place, which was all needed to marshal 16,000 men into some say three and others four columns, which according to different writers was done before the march into the forest was begun.

A word about the local topography of the route may be per-

¹ Began service in 1857 in place of the “John Jay” (burned in July 1856), and was retired in 1876. “Her hull rests in the little bay north of Black Mountain point.” Stoddard's *Lake George and Lake Champlain*, (1910), p. 46. Nelson's *Guide Lake George and Lake Champlain*, (London 1866), has several oil colored views of this boat to face title page, p. 8, etc. Also see Id. “*Our Summer Retreats*,” (N. Y. 1858).

² “South” of course means towards the head of the lake. The distance from Cooks Landing to Baldwin being about one mile in a straight line from Howe's Cove.

³ Letter from D. A. Loomis of the Champlain Transportation Company.

tinient here. Ticonderoga, then also known as Carillon¹, lay at the tip of the peninsula stretching into Lake Champlain, washed on one side and end by that lake and on the other side by the Outlet of Lake George into Lake Champlain.²

The waters of Lake George tumble into Lake Champlain through a natural rocky canal of varying levels, with two distinct falls, having rifts, and rapids between; the difference in the surfaces of the two lakes being about two hundred and forty three feet.³ The "Outlet" as it is called, like an exaggerated question mark stretches its narrow length for about four miles from Howe's Landing to the peninsula of old Fort Ticonderoga,⁴ navigable for small boats below the lower falls and requiring a short portage between these and the so called "upper falls." Here and there were bridges at this time for the use of the French occupants of the fort, which were promptly destroyed on the approach of the English forces. A sort of military road led from the cove on the left bank of the outlet, a short distance, crossing the stream by a bridge, thence on the right bank in a straight line to a second bridge a mile from the fort. As another writer pictures it at this time:

"To the east of the second bridge, on both sides of the river, were morasses and low meadows, and just below it a waterfall and sawmills,"⁵

¹ Carillon translated means of course "a chime" or "chime of bells." Some authorities claim that Cheonderoga a variation of Ticonderoga means "brawling waters" and connect the two names from this. The music of the waters of the outlet, tumbling over the rocks and stones, must have appealed to some imaginative Frenchman who gave the old fort this poetic name. As a matter of fact however "Cheonderoga" or properly "Tjeonderoge" simply means "Between two lakes" (Ruttenber's *Indian Names, Our Proceedings*, VI, pp. 71-72). On T. Pownal's Map, (London 1776), it is said to mean "Three Rivers" (Holden's *Queensbury* p. 26). It is "a compound Te c'ungha ro ge, meaning literally two (not three) rivers, flowing into each other." (E. B. O'Callaghan in Dawson's *Hist. Mag.* for November, 1859, pp. 346-347). The "Iroquois name of Ticonderoga meaning the Place of Rocks dividing the waters; it being at this point that Lake George separated from Lake Champlain;" (H. R. Schoolcraft in *Hist. Mag.* for June 1860.) From this expert testimony, it is only clear that it does not mean "Brawling" and never did.

² Map U. S. Geological Survey (ed. Oct. 1905), *New York, Vermont, Ticonderoga Quadrangle*.

³ Verplanck Colvin in his *Topographical Survey of the Adirondacks for 1874-1879*, (Albany 1880), p. 249, gives the altitude above the sea of Lake George as 343 feet and Lake Champlain 99.311.

⁴ U. S. Geological Survey, *New York, Vermont, and Ticonderoga Quadrangle*.

⁵ Sloane's *French War and the Revolution*, (London 1893), pp. 66-67.

Except for the portage paths and war trails, the clearing at the saw mills, and near the fort, the ground was entirely covered by virgin forest, in which the ring of the woodman's ax had not as yet been heard. The heights were covered with a dense almost impenetrable growth of white and yellow pines, hemlocks and drooping sharp needled spruces, while the hardy white oaks and ash trees clung to the valleys, the whole forming a bewildering and formidable protection for any fortress, from even a small squad of men, to say nothing of a magnificent army.¹

Another writer has well said of the attempt to force a way through these trackless wooded areas which then covered the greater part of the country:

"Then there was the stifling heat of the primeval forests. Our present day notion of forests is diametrically opposed to old-time experience. To us, the forest is a popular symbol of restful coolness; formerly they were exhausting furnaces in the hot season, where horses fell headlong in their tracks and men fainted from fatigue. We wonder sometimes that pioneer armies frequently accomplished only ten or twelve miles a day, sometimes less. But * * * the stifling heat of the becalmed forest easily explains both slowness and wearing fatigue. It was the heat that all leaders of pioneer armies feared; for heat meant thirst * * * Many a crazed trooper has thrown himself into the first marsh or swamp encountered and has drunk his fill of water as deadly as any bullet."²

On the west side of the Outlet was a rough trail partially cut through the forest, but of so scraggy and rude a character that experienced guides were needed to conduct parties using it to and from the fort. Following this trail for about two miles and a half, the coureurs du bois or the voyageurs of the inland lakes would come to a large stream whose clay stained waters here meet the foaming cataract of the upper falls, about two rods below the falls just after their descent of 102 feet from the lake beyond.³ This

¹ See Flavius J. Cook's *Home Sketches of Essex County*, (1858), pp. 11-12, also his *Centennial Address* (Ticonderoga Historical Society ed. 1909), pp. 62-63. (In after years dropping his first name he became widely known the world over as Dr. Joseph Cook.)

² Archer Butler Hulbert, *Portage Paths (Historic Highways of America VII)*, pp. 44-45.

³ Cook's *Home Sketches of Essex County*, pp. 14-15.

run afterwards to be celebrated in local history, has its rise in the range of mountains lying partly in Hague, Warren County, and partly in Ticonderoga, Essex County, in a fresh marsh near Lost Pond, on the 1300 foot level on Bull Rock Mountain; running thence southerly and easterly between that mountain and Trumbull Mountain in Warren County, where it turns pursuing a serpentine course northerly, until near Three Brothers Mountain it twists and runs easterly with many windings, until it enters the Outlet as before stated, just below the upper falls.¹ This brook, to which at that time the English had given no name, and which was known to the French by the name of River Bernetz, Bernes or Bernè, traversed a valley in after years noted for its grandeur, beauty and sylvan attractiveness. Within its purling waters, the early settlers found plenty of food and sustenance; at its brink the wild deer of the forest, so plenty as to be a nuisance to the struggling farmer, the black bear, and the still wilder and fiercer cats of the mountains, slaked their thirst.²

This then was the situation of affairs on the morning of the fatal 6th. The landing had been effected without opposition. The outpost had retired, leaving their camp in flames, and their supplies of provisions for the delighted provincials, one of whom says "we recovered a grat deele of wine and brandy shepe torkes & hens,"³ which were welcomed as a desirable change from the usual monotonous camp diet, concerning which Dr. Rea says, "I've eat this Summer one meal of Squash, one of Turneps, one of Potatoes & one of Onions & no more."⁴ It took considerable time for the host of soldiery to disembark and prepare for the work ahead of them, but the men went at it in high spirits, good humor, and the expectation of speedy victory, with no premonition of the disaster to come. As Alexander Colden writes to Francis Halket, brigade major with Gen. Forbes at Carlisle: "We had nothing in View but Glory and Victory with sight of the French fort, and

¹ U. S. Geological Survey, *New York, Vermont, Ticonderoga Quadrangle and New York Paradox Lake Sheet*.

² Cook's *Home Sketches*, pp. 14, 33-36, 122-124; Id. *Centennial Address*, pp. 66, 86. Bean's *Ticonderoga*, p. 18. Smith's *Essex County*, pp. 378-379.

³ Journal Cornet Archelaus Fuller, *Hist. Col. Essex Inst.* (July, 1910), p. 213.

⁴ Dr. Rea's Journal, *Hist. Col. Essex Inst.*, (July-Sept. 1881), p. 204.

yet by experience I to my Grief find how little dependance one must make. All worldly expectations in short is all a Chimera."¹

Finally formed in columns according to the military custom of those days,² this large body of troops began their slow and toilsome march through the dense forest. With the Outlet on their right they bore to the west to prevent being flanked by the French. Rogers and his men having been sent in advance to scout and clear the path of small parties of the enemy, and prevent possible ambushes.³ Despite the frequent scouts made by Rogers and his Rangers in the three preceding years, in some of which Lord Howe was said to have participated,⁴ and in spite of the fact that rough maps of the region secured by Rogers and his followers, were in possession of the English,⁵ the locality seemed to be unfamiliar to the leaders. The army had scarcely entered the dark and gloomy woods through which a ray of sunshine could hardly have penetrated, even if the day had not been cloudy and lowry, and undoubtedly muggy, before the troops were in confusion. Stumbling over the rocky soil, breaking their way through the tangled undergrowth, tumbling over the fallen logs and forest debris, the touch of elbow and close formation required by European tactics, on level Continental battlefields, was destroyed in less time than it takes to tell about it. The guides became bewildered and lost their way. The entire army became uneasy and panicky. To lighten their burden the men threw away the provisions they were carrying and their extra accoutrements.⁶

Such was the condition, when about four o'clock the French outpost, under command of M. de Trepezec of the Bearn regiment, which deserted by its Indian guides, but under the guidance of M. Langy "an old bush-ranger" was making a detour to reach the fort back of the English forces,⁷ unexpectedly met the advancing English lines. Shots were exchanged and the moment the firing was heard, Lord Howe who was at the head of the right

¹ *Boquet Papers*, Add. Mss. 21, 640, p. 151.

² See "*A Dialogue in Hades*, (Quebec 1887), pp. 28-29.

³ *Reminiscences of the French War*, (Concord, N. H., 1831), pp. 69-70.

⁴ Bean's "Storming of Ticonderoga," *The Knickerbocker*, (July, 1850),

p. 4.

⁵ *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, X, p. 726.

⁶ *Reminiscences*, pp. 67-68.

⁷ *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, X. pp. 722, 738, 757, 845.

(Mills) I was last and lay Down with the other part of the Reg vary wet and cold."

Another diarist referring to this says:¹ "July ye 7th we marcht a little afore Sun Set and we waded over a river to join the battallion and we had got about half way and was Lost and we Could Not find them and we Stood to arms all Knight and the Next Morning we marcht to Join the Battallion."

With the attack of the English forces, their over-whelming defeat on the 8th, and inglorious retreat through Lake George to Fort William Henry on the 9th, we are not concerned so far as this article goes.

At this time the writer desires to present to the Association the newly discovered facts referred to, in the beginning of this article.

First, however, the writer is pleased to submit the accompanying letters from Captain Alexander Moneypenny,² who was with Lord Howe at his death and took charge of his remains. So far as now known, they have never before been published. Their importance is the excuse for inserting them in the original article.

The history of these letters, and their discovery is an interesting episode in the hunt for evidence in this matter. Soon after returning from the excursion of the Association last fall, correspondence was begun with the Hon. Howland Pell and his cousin Stephen H. P. Pell regarding certain points which the writer wished to clear up, and some valuable suggestions were made by them leading to the securing of some new proof. On looking over his papers Stephen H. P. Pell found some letters from Lord Terence Browne, son of the Marquis of Sligo, a descendant of the branch of the Howe family to which Lord Howe belonged, containing copies of family papers relating to the latter's death and proposed burial.

¹ Journal of John Noyes, *Hist. Col. Essex Inst.*, (January, 1909), p. 74.

² Alexander Moneypenny the writer of these letters, was appointed captain, August 29, 1756. In February, 1757, he was assigned to the 55th Foot and served in America under Lord Loudon. "He was one of the brigade majors in this and the succeeding campaign." His name occurs in the *British army lists* as major of the 22nd Foot in 1760, and lieutenant colonel of the 56th Foot in 1768, '72, '73. *Burke's Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*, (London 1852), in a sketch of the Moneypenny family of Pitmilly, County Fife, states that Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Moneypenny, of the 56th Regiment died in 1800. *Putnam's Journal*, Dawes ed. p. 64; Librarian of Congress (Chief Bibliographer) letter Dec. 15th, 1910, Robert H. Kelby, Librarian *N. Y. Historical Society* letter, Dec. 8th.

Letters to that family brought a reply from Lord Arthur Browne, who for several years has had charge of the family papers and who writes in part as follows:

"About a year ago I made copies of the only papers I had discovered bearing on Lord Howe's death and sent them over to my brother Lord Terence Browne then in New York and I understand he gave them to Mr. Pell. They consisted of one or two letters from a staff officer and a contemporary rough sketch of the battle.

This is all I have found up to the present, but as there are still many papers unread, it is possible I may find something more. I do not however think it possible, as practically all the Howe papers despatches etc. were destroyed about 100 years ago in a fire in which the library at Westport House [Westport, Ireland] was burnt down. The papers of the Admiral Lord Howe had just been received from the executors then, and it is probable that any documents bearing on General Lord Howe were with them, but they had not even been removed from the chests in which they travelled when they were burnt—so that I cannot say for certain.

If I should come across anything more I will let you know. I am sorry not to be able to give you any more information."¹

Through the kindness of H. L. Bridgman of the Brooklyn Standard Union, the writer had previously taken up the matter of tradition, and existence of papers with Vice Admiral Assheton G. Curzon-Howe, K.C.B., in command of His Majesty's Naval Station, Portsmouth, England, who informed him that he knew of no family tradition regarding the disposition of Howe's remains, and who also told him of the destruction of the family records at Westport House. Nor in a subsequent conversation with the head of the house, and other members of the family, was the Admiral able to obtain further information than is supplied here. He says "It is extraordinary considering his long life and very active share in events of that period that very few papers of Admiral Howe, or of General Howe are extant."² This would seem to do away with the legend that a tradition exists in the Howe

¹ His letter Dec. 13th, 1910.

² His letter of November 21st, 1910. [Since the foregoing was put in type, the sudden death of Admiral Howe from apoplexy on March 1, 1911, has been reported. In his death England lost a fine officer and kindly Christian gentlemen and America a good friend.]

family, that a resultless search for Lord Howe's remains was made by his brothers or kinsfolk, at any time after his burial.¹

The Money Penny letters are as follows:

*Copy of a Letter from Capt. Money Penny to Mr. Calcraft, Dated
Camp at Lake George, 11th July, 1758.*

Sir:

It is with the Utmost Concern, I write you of the Death of Lord Howe. On the 6th the whole army landed without opposition, at the carrying place, about seven miles from Ticonderoga. About two o'clock, they march'd in four Columns, to Invest the Breast Work, where the Enemy was Encamp'd, near the Fort. The Rangers were before the army and the Light Infantry and marksmen at the Heads of the columns. We expected, and met with some opposition near a small River, which we had to cross. When the Firing began on part of the Left Column, Lord Howe thinking it would be of the greatest Consequence, to beat of the Enemy with the Light Troops, so as not to stop the March of the Main Body, went up with them, and had just gained the Top of the Hill, where the firing was, when he was killed.² Never Ball had a more Deadly Direction. It entered his breast on the left side, and (as the Surgeons say) pierced his Lungs, and heart, and shattered his Back Bone. I was about six yards from him, he fell on his Back and never moved, only his Hands quivered an instant.³

¹ A letter received from Lord Arthur Browne under date of January 17. states, that none of the family papers have as yet been published, and that there is still much to examine. It is to be hoped that a possibility of printing these valuable records, which Lord Browne expresses in his letter, may become a reality in the not distant future.

² This letter of Capt. Money Penny effectually disposes of the theory advanced by some of the earlier historians, that Lord Howe was shot in the back. Hutchinson in his *Hist. Prov. Mass. Bay*, (London 1828), p. 71, says: "Whether shot by the enemy or by his own people, was uncertain. One of the provincial colonels present supposed the last, not merely from the disorderly firing, but from a view of the body; the ball entering as he said, at his back, when he was facing the enemy." As the effect of the shot is so clearly described by Capt. Money Penny, the wound might have that appearance, the bullet tearing its way through all the soft tissues, and shattering the back-bone, then going out the back. But the proof is clear he was shot in the breast, and as clearly as anything of that sort can be at this late day, by the enemy.

³ In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1760, an English officer severely criticized the Provincials for their lack of discipline, disobedience of orders etc. A New Englander replying to the charge quotes and denies the statement that "the regulars are afraid of being shot down by the provincials in a panick." He says in refutation, as to the provincials, "Lord Howe was their darling, and others might be named who were growing daily in their esteem and admiration." Pp. 171, 224.

The French party was about 400 men, 'tis computed 200 of them were Killed, 160, whereof five are officers, are Prisoners; their Commanding Officer, and the partizan who conducted them, were killed, by the Prisoner's account, in short, very few, if any, got back.

The Loss our Country has sustained in His Lordship is inexpressible, and I'm afraid irreparable. The Spirit he inspired in the Troops, the Indefatigable Pains he took in forwarding the Publick Service, the Pattern he show'd of every Military Virtue, can only be believed by those, who were eye witnesses of it. The Confidence the Army, both regular, and provincial, had in his Abilities as a General Officer, the Readiness with which, every Order of his, or Ev'n Intimation of what would be agreeable to Him, was comply'd with, is almost Incredible. When his Body, was brought into Camp, scarce an Eye was free from Tears.

As his Lordship had chose me to act as an Aid de Camp to Him, when he was to have commanded on the Winter Expedition, which did not take place, and afterwards on his being made a Brigadier General, had got me appointed Brigade Major, and I had constantly lived with him since that time, I took upon me to write the following letters, which, I hope will not be disapproved by his family.

Letter to Dr. Huck at Albany, Dated, Army Near Ticonderoga, 7th July.

Lord Howe's body is sent to you,¹ and you are desired by the General, Brigadier Gage, and Capt. West to Use your Utmost Endeavour to preserve it in such a manner, that it may be sent Home to England; If that is not possible his servant, Will^m Kemp will move it to New York to be buried their by the Lieut. Governor. Whilst his Body is at Albany it is to lye in the House of Dr. Oglevie.²

¹ Writing about the Flatts, between Albany and Troy, at this time the residence of Madame Schuyler, W. D. Schuyler-Lighthall says: "It was to this house that poor Howe was brought back dead from Abercrombie's attack on Ticonderoga, which would have resulted very differently had he lived." Katherine Schuyler's *Godchild of Washington*, (1897), p. 21.

² The Rev. John Ogilvie was at this time the rector of The English Church at Albany. Dr. Hooper's *History of St. Peter's Church*, pp. 85-104.

Letter, to the Hon'ble James De Lancey, Esq., Lieutenant Governor of New York, Same Place and Date.

Sir:—

Lord Howe having been unfortunately Kill'd yesterday, His Body after being preserved with all the Care this place will allow of, is sent to Albany where Dr. Huck is Desired to Embalm and preserve it, in order to be sent to England.¹ The General, Brigadier Gage, and Capt. West beg the Favour of you, to Receive it into your House at New York, and if Dr. Huck writes you that it is in a Condition to be sent Home, to put it on Board the first good Ship.² If Dr. Huck writes that it cannot be sent Home, They beg you will give him a proper Burial attended by yourself, the Council, and a few of the principal Inhabitants of New York, and any Sea or Land Officers that may be there, in the Chancel of the English Church.³

Letter to Mr. Hugh Wallace, Merchant, at New York.

Sir:—

Please to answer all demands of Mr. Wm. Kemp. Lord Howe's serv't, for whatever money he wants to pay all demands on his Lordship in this Country, and his own and the other serv'ts expenses in going Home. His Bill to you for the above money on Mr. Calcraft will be duly paid.

I wrote a letter also to Mr. Kemp, telling him that, Brigadier Gage, and Capt. West were of opinion, not to sell any of his effects, and that he was therefore to carry Home what was valuable and what he thought the Family would be desirous of having, and

¹ Up to the time this article was put in print, no information regarding Dr. Huck's presence in Albany had been obtained. From the evidence to follow, the body was buried at once, on its arrival.

² S. H. P. Pell, thinking the body might have been taken to New York, and there been buried under the chancel of the old English Church, has had the *Records of Trinity Parish* searched but with no results. (His letter of Dec. 6th). Dr. Hooper writes (under date of Dec. 12th) that researches in this direction will be fruitless.

³ These specific directions, to take the body to Dr. Ogilvie's house in Albany, that is the Church of England Rectory, and to bury the body in case of necessity under the chancel of the English Church (Old Trinity) in New York City, are presumptive proofs that Weise's *History of Albany* is in error when it states p. 331, "By some it is said that the corpse was interred in a vault in the English Church, by others in the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church." Lord Howe's servant would see to it, that the remains were interred in the English Church and not in that of any other denomination.

Divide the Remainder amongst his servants. As soon as the Enemy were Repulsed after his Fall I took his Pocket Book and papers out of his pockets, wch are sent home by his serv^t Thomas. I did not take Time to pull his Watch out and soon after it was gone.¹ Ten guineas reward are advertised for it if found it will be sent Home. The money in his Pocket was given to the men who carried him out of ye Field. I hope to hear from you acknowledging the Receipt of this lre. If the loss of the Publick was not so great I wou'd say something of my own. As this is intended only for Lord Howe's Family, Don't mention the Attack of the French Lines on the 8th.

(Signed) AL. MONEYPENNY.

To any unbiased and unprejudiced person these letters will settle the question of Lord Howe's burial place. Capt. Money Penny, it will be noticed says positively in two letters that the body is *sent to Albany*, not that "it will be," or "may be" or "is expected to be," but is. Had it been buried on the field he certainly would have so stated it. But to resume our proofs:

In 1849, the State of New York began the publication of Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York. The historian John Romeyn Brodhead as the editor was sent to Holland, England and France, to secure accurate and literal copies of the papers relating to our early colonial history, on official file in those countries. The documents in Dutch and French were translated by that capable and efficient scholar, E. B. O'Callaghan, LL. D. And it is upon these records that most historians, unable to have access to foreign sources, have relied for their facts and inspirations.

In compiling Vol. X, which is the recognized storehouse of authority for the records of the events of the French and Indian War, Dr. Brodhead took his copy of the official report made by

¹ It seems incredible that there were such contemptible ghouls with this army, but we know from the journals of those days, that camp executions and lashes on the bare back were most common, for all sorts of crimes, ranging from robbery to desertion. The Journal of a Provincial Officer Dawson's *Hist. Magazine*, (August, 1871), says under date of July 25th "There was one Regular of the 44th Regt. hanged for stealing 3 old Buckles from men out of my Company. 2 Regulars received 1,000 lashes each for stealing" p. 117. Dr. *Rea's Journal*, (Salem, Mass. 1881), says "the man's name was Hone, and that he was a notorious thief," pp. 36-37.

Major General Abercrombie to Secretary Pitt, from the London Gazette Extraordinary, dated August 22, 1758. This same version of the report was also copied in the Annual Register or Compleat History of the Late War, published in Dublin in 1766.¹ This History in turn being taken from the Annual Register,² for 1758, a work published each year in London, which gave the story of the progress of the world during the year that had gone. It would show apparently therefore, that this was the popular acceptance of General Abercrombie's own description of the battle. It seems however, that this was not in reality the official report made to Secretary Pitt, nor the one filed by him among the official records of his office.

Having occasion to correspond with William Cutter, then Librarian of the Public Library, of Woburn, Mass., he called my attention to a letter from Abercrombie to Pitt, informing the latter of a skirmish at the Half-Way Brook, whose history I had just prepared, which was referred to in extenso, in a work entitled "Correspondence of William Pitt with Colonial Governors, Etc.," published by the Macmillan Co., in 1906. Procuring this work, I found it had been edited under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, by Miss Gertrude Selwyn Kimball, of Providence, R. I.³

The book was examined with interest and pleasure and found to be a most valuable acquisition to present-day historical reference shelves. In looking at the letters relating to the Campaign of 1758 I noticed in Vol. 1, p. 297, what at first resembled the well known and often used report of Abercrombie to Pitt dated at Lake George, July 12th, after the battle. Before it was read through however, I found it was not the same, for it contained the information that *Lord Howe's body had been sent to Albany*. The evidence of so important a discovery could at first hardly be credited. Taking it up with Miss Kimball, she kindly furnished me with the

¹ Supposed to have been written or compiled by J. Wright. Edmund Burke was said to have edited its earlier issues. It is referred to as a standard by Winsor.

² Fourth edition, (London, 1764).

³ The writer regrets to note the death of Miss Kimball which occurred in Providence on June 20, 1910. A brief note of appreciation of her historical work appears in the *American Historical Review* for October, 1910, pp. 183-184.

address of the copyist, Miss Ethel M. Lomas, of London, to whose judgment and ability, Miss Kimball bears witness in the introduction of her book, also in letters to me, all of which I find have in no degree been exaggerated, in my own experience. Owing to a press of other matters, it was not until the winter of 1909-10 the idea of proving the non-burial of Lord Howe at Ticonderoga was taken up seriously. Correspondence was started with Miss Lomas, asking her to verify the letter of General Abercrombie, as copied by her, and to compare it with the one usually used and which appears in the New York Colonial Documents, Vol. X, p. 725. This she did and I have her affidavit as sworn to at the American Consulate-General in London, that the passage to which I refer is contained in the body of the despatch without interpolation or addition. In fact our very capable Secretary, Mr. Richards, who in the summer of 1910 visited Scotland and England for material for his paper, has seen and copied the same paragraph, which was new to him as it was originally to me. These papers are contained in the Public Record Office in London, where I am told there is to be found much that has never been touched by American historians, which might cause the pages of many a history to be revised, were it not for that provincial self-sufficiency which clothes the personal appreciation of many a historian, not only here but abroad.

This particular letter of Abercrombie's is to be found in *America and West Indies*, Vol. 87, pp. 297-302,¹ and the new part is as follows:

"I caused his body to be taken off the field of battle, and sent to Albany, with a design to have had it embalmed, & sent home, if his Lordship's relations, had approved of it. But the weather being very hot, Brig^r Stanwix was obliged to order it to be buried.

*The Army, as I observed before, being dispersed & night coming on fast, I collected such Part of it as were within my Reach, & posted them under the Trees, where they remained all Night under Arms."*²

At this time Fort Edward marked the advanced post of civilization to the northward. Schenectady and Sir William Johnson's

¹ See Appendix for letter in extenso.

² This part is entirely omitted in the letter published in *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, p. 725.

colony on the west, were the first encroachments on the territory of the Long House. A few scattering settlements between Albany and Fort Edward provided a way of communication to the south, while to the eastward along the valley of the Hoosack protected by a chain of forts, was a broad and well defined trail, over which the provincial soldiery marched to the aid of their British brethren. The provincials, especially those from the Massachusetts Bay settlement, were great chroniclers and many diaries of the participants in this fight and this campaign, are to be found in the New England towns.¹

In examining these old journals it is interesting to note what is considered by one man of the most concern, as compared with the ideas of another soldier on the same day, or during the same battle. The New Englanders' being mostly taken up with their own petty affairs or self-doings, their ills and woes, or religious welfare. For instance in the journal of John Noyes, published by the Essex Institute in January, 1909, while the fatal skirmish is mentioned, the death of Lord Howe is not alluded to in any way. Nor is it in the Lemuel Lyon Journal, published in Poughkeepsie, in 1855. Nor in the Joseph Holt Journal, published in the New England Historic Genealogical Register, Vol. X, 1856. Following the *ad impossible* reasoning of some historians, we might conclude from three such utterly disinterested witnesses, that he was not killed, but unfortunately that was not the case. These journals are exceptions in this regard however, as it is through one of the New England diaries that we obtain the proof that Lord Howe's body did not remain on the field at Ticonderoga as claimed.²

¹ See Bibliography, in Appendix.

² Out of a number of the comments on the sad affair of the 6th the following are taken, to show how the soldiers felt: Rufus Putnam says, "His death struck a great damp on the army. For my own part I was so panned struck that I was willing to remain with the boat guard, which in the morning I should have ben very unwilling to have been detailed for." *Memoirs*, p. 23. The Rev. Daniel Shute, a chaplain, says: "Upon Lord Howe being slain the whole army were halted, * * * and July 7, lay still upon ye same account. But 18,000 men not able to bring him to life. (My chest arrived at Schenectada) " *Hist. Col. Essex Inst.* (April, 1874), p. 137. Dr. Caleb Rea says: 7th " * * * I can't but observe since Lord How's Death Business seems a little Stagnant;" his *Journal* (F. M. Ray ed.), p. 25. Cornet Archelaus Fuller says: "About 2 a clok the general and Lord How marched with a great part of the army tords the fort threw the woods wheare the french and Ingons had wated by the accout we haue,

In Sewell's History of Woburn, Mass., published in 1868, there appears in Appendix LX, the Diary of Lieut. Samuel Thompson. This was reprinted with annotations by William R. Cutter of Woburn, in 1896. Samuel Thompson was a rather unusual personage for those days, and of a higher type than the ordinary soldier. To him is attributed the discovery of the apple later known as the Baldwin apple, and a monument to him in honor of this discovery has been erected by a Woburn Historical Association. Of Samuel Thompson, Mr. Cutter states, that he was "an esquire, a deacon, an indefatigable clerk, a surveyor" in which capacity he laid out the Middlesex Canal, followed ever since by railroad engineers as the best route through that section of country, "and held most of the highest offices in the town, besides performing much important town business." The testimony of this man, an officer, an educated man, and a gentleman, cannot therefore be easily impeached or controverted, nor can it be overthrown by any one's ipse dixit, or disposed of by a wave of the hand. Until found false it must stand as the truth.¹ Lieut. Thompson was a part of the great expedition of 1758 and had been left as part of the rear

there was about three thousands they killed Lord How the first shot. Some others whiche was Lamente very much thru out the army," *Col. Essex Inst.* (July 1910). In looking over the papers in the British Museum my searcher ran across the following extract from a letter of Col. G. Washington to Col. Boquet, from the camp at Fort Cumberland, July 21st, 1758. "We participate in the joy felt for the success of his Majesty's Arms at Louisburg etc. and sincerely lament the loss of that brave and active Noblemen, Lord How." *Boquet Papers*, Add. Mss., 21, 641, p. 17.

Alexander Colden also writes under date of July 17th, 1758. "Unfortunately the Brave Lord Howe was killed in the beginning of this brush. Add. Mss. 21,643, p. 154. And again under the same date "Ld Howe's death was a bad affair but he exposed himself too much." *Add. Mss.* 21,643, p. 151.

An officer writes to Capt. Knox, speaking of the loss sustained, it was "trifling, however, in comparison to that which the army sustained by his Lordship's fall, who was killed at the first charge, and is universally regretted both by officers and soldiers;" Knox's *Journal*, I, p. 149.

Col. Oliver Partridge writes "to our unspeakable loss Ld How was shot dead on ye spot." Col. William Williams says "The disappointment * * * (unless Ld H. was worth 400 of them which we kildd and capt'd the Time he was kildd) is inexpressible * * * The death of the above man was an unspeakable loss. *Israel Williams Mss.* Mass. Hist. Soc'y Library.

¹ It has been intimated that this officer's evidence should be thrown out, because it is not shown he viewed the body, and that it is "heresay"—if it be hearsay, it comes under the well known rule of *res gestae* making it competent here.

guard to look after the camp at the head of the lake. Under the date of Saturday, July 8th, is the following entry in his diary:¹

"Post came from the Narrows: and they brought Lord Howe to ye Fort, who was slain at their landing; and in ye afternoon there came in 100 and odd men, French prisoners, into the Fort."

There could be no mistaking the body by Lieut. Thompson, for that of another man. His lordship's person was well known to every soldier in the provincial army. But even had it not been known, in the afternoon there arrived at the head several boats containing the prisoners taken at Birney River belonging to the detachment of M. DeLangy, whose officers and crews would confirm the news and who knew that the body was that of Lord Howe. Another chronicler, Capt. Asa Foster did not go with the expedition, remaining at the head doing other duty. He says under date of July 8, confirming the arrival of the men: "150 prisoners sent up taken at the advanced guard at Ticonderoga and 121 were taken into our stockade and guarded all night."² The presence however of Major Schuyler at the English encampment, would make the non-recognition of the body an impossibility.

Thus is corroborated General Abercrombie's statement that he had the body taken from the field. This evidence also confirms the statement made by W. C. Watson in his "History of Essex County,"³ "that the next day a single barge retraced the track of the flotilla bearing the body of the young hero, who but yesterday had led its brilliant pageant." We are told that Phillip Schuyler then major and deputy commissary was detailed, at his own request, to accompany the body of his dear friend and associate to Albany.⁴ Judge William Hay in his "Historical novel on

¹ Sewell's *History of Woburn, Mass.*, pp. 547-549; William R. Cutter's *Diary of Lieut. Samuel Thompson, Woburn, Mass.*, (Boston 1896), p. 9.

² *Id.* p. 9, *Gentleman's Magazine* (1758), p. 445.

³ See Appendix for full extract from Watson covering this point.

⁴ Benson J. Lossing's *Life and Times of Phillip Schuyler*, (N. Y. 1883), I, p. 153. *Id.* *Field Book of Revolution*, (1851), I, p. 119. Whatever Mr. Lossing's faults as a historian, he had free access to the Schuyler family records, letters, papers and mss., and was so intimate with the family as to know all the traditions, including the oral statements of Schuyler's daughter Mrs. Cochran of Oswego, who gave him much valuable information. (*Field Book* I, p. 119). His statements therefore can safely be relied upon in this particular case.

the Burgoyne Campaign," says the selection was an honor equivalent to being the bearer of an announcement of victory.¹

Dr. Sherman Williams of this Association in looking up another matter, ran across the following, bearing on this point, which he kindly furnished the writer:

"In 1828, when he was president of the New York Historical Society, Chancellor Kent gave an address in which, speaking of General Phillip Schuyler, he said: 'He was with Lord Howe when he fell by the fire of the enemy on landing at the north end of the lake, and he was appointed (as he himself informed me) to convey the body of the young and lamented nobleman to Albany where he was buried with appropriate solemnities, in the Episcopal Church.'"²

In all the history of his long and active life, devoted to the advancement and interests of his country, Phillip Schuyler was never known to shirk a duty or fail to carry out a detail of service. It is neither probable nor likely that he failed in this case to perform the sad task of carrying the body of Lord Howe to Albany.³ And any argument to the contrary is mere speciousness, a fallacy or a use of that branch of logic called "The Irrelevant Conclusion," better known as the "Argumentum ad hominem."⁴

In Prof. Owen's monograph⁵ appears one of the most remarkable arguments for any cause I have ever seen. He says (p. 12), referring to the subsequent attacks on convoys made on the Lydius or Fort Edward road by Montcalm's scouting parties, in one of which, near Fort Ann, Putnam was captured; "such removal of

¹ Judge William Hay of Glens Falls, and Saratoga, famous in the early days of the last century as a jurist, and local historian, author, poet, publisher and contributor to the press, Dawson's *Magazine* etc., b. 1790, d. 1870. (Holden's *Queensbury*, pp. 45-46). In 1859 he furnished to the *Glens Falls Republican* scattering chapters of a proposed semi "Historical Novel on the Burgoyne Campaign, full of local history which the writer fortunately has in his possession. Unfortunately his design of fuller publication was never carried into effect.

² *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col.* (2nd Series 1841), I, p. 20.

³ Baxter's *Digby's Journal*, (Albany 1837), pp. 241-243 has an excellent appreciation of General Schuyler. See also *A Godchild of Washington*, p. 39.

⁴ Jevon's *Logic* (ed. 1882) p. 178 says "This fallacy is in truth the great resource of those who have to support a weak case. It is not unknown in the legal profession, and an attorney for the defendant in a lawsuit is said to have handed to the barrister, his brief marked "no case, abuse the plaintiff's attorneys."

⁵ *His Burial of Lord Viscount Howe*, p. 12.

the body to Albany was not practicable, in view of the danger attending the same. * * * It is a matter of history that the wilderness between the lake and Fort Edward was continually traversed by bands of Indians and French in search of plunder and scalps down to a period as late as the final evacuation of Ticonderoga by the French in Amherst's campaign. It would therefore be manifestly hazardous to have attempted to convey the remains to Albany, requiring a stronger detachment for a guard than could well have been spared at the time." The utter ridiculousness of such a statement is immediately apparent when we remember that between the 9th and the 12th the wounded of Abercrombie's army had been removed to Fort Edward, and Albany,¹ and that strong guards had been placed at Fort Edward, Fort Miller, and Half-Way Brook by the general's orders.² It is true that later, on July 20th and again on July 28th attacks on the English and provincials stationed at Half-Way Brook³ were made by the French rangers, resulting in considerable loss to the forces of Abercrombie, but at the time of the defeat at Ticonderoga, Montcalm did not pursue the English and his reasons for not doing so are quoted in full in New York Colonial Documents, Vol. X.⁴

In recapitulation then, up to Thursday, Oct. 3, 1889, the facts in the Lord Howe matter stood as follows: He was killed according to the letters and authorities quoted herein about four o'clock, on the afternoon of July 6th. The accompanying soldiery, most of whom were provincials and rangers, thrown into a rage over his death, had avenged it so far as possible by the practical annihilation of De Trepezee's (or Trepezee's) force, between three and four hundred in number. The rest of the English army badly confused, dismayed by the loss and upset and bewildered by the dense forests, were in disorder. According to his official report to Secretary Pitt, General Abercrombie had caused the body to

¹ Papers Charles Lee, *Col. N. Y. Hist. Soc.* (1871), I, p. 6 et seq.; Knox's *Hist. Journal*, I, p. 145.

² Miss Kimball's *Cor. of Wm. Pitt*, I, pp. 316-327.

³ My Half-way Brook in History, *N. Y. State Hist. Assn. Pro.* VI, pp. 169-189. See also *Dr. Rea's Journal*, pp. 34-35, 39-41; *Cleveland Journal, Col. Essex Inst.*, (July, 1871), pp. 190, 193-195, *Cornet Fuller's Journal, Col. Essex Inst.*, (July, 1910), p. 216, *Journal John Noyes, Col. Essex Inst.*, (Jan. 1909), pp. 74-75.

⁴ See pp. 757-764.

be removed from the field of battle, and it had been taken in charge by Captain Money Penny, according to his letters. The army being dispersed and night coming on fast, the general had collected together what men he could and posted them under trees where they remained all night under arms. The next day an escort started with the body in a single barge for the head of Lake George.

Depending upon wind and wave, and with good oarsmen in the rude barges or whale boats of those days, it would take a trifle over ten hours to reach the head a distance of thirty and one-half miles, with all things favorable and no rests.¹

On Lake George such a trip now is considered an all day's task for a good oarsman in a light boat.²

In 1805, Elkanah Watson, traveled over the lake in a batteau rowed by four men, starting early in the morning. The party coursed down the lake, entering the Narrows in the afternoon, and making Sabbath Day Point at sun down. Here they camped for the night and went on into Lake Champlain the next day.³ It is probable in the case of Lord Howe, that the boat bearing the remains did not start early on the 7th as it reached Fort William Henry on the morning of the 8th, according to Lieut. Thompson. The usual camping or resting places at that time, as well as during the Revolutionary War, were Sabbath Day Point, Fourteen Mile Island,⁴ in the Narrows, Diamond Island,⁵ three miles from the head, which Rogers was occupying as an advanced post for his scouting purposes,⁶ or Long Island.

¹ It apparently however was usual then to take two days for the journey, for we find the English officer in charge of the French prisoners starting the night of the 7th, and reaching the head the next day. (*Gentleman's Magazine* (1758), p. 445. In the following year, 1759, Rufus Putnam describes a disagreeable trip with two boats, men and some horses up the lake to the head, in early December. They had to camp for the night, probably at what is now Halfway Island, and next day with a heavily loaded boat, the other having to be abandoned, reached Fort George a little after sunset. (*Memoirs*, pp. 29-30.)

² Letters R. J. Brown of Bolton, former County Engineer, (Oct. 22, 1910), and C. A. West, Lake George (Oct. 21, 1910.)

³ *Men and Times of the Revolution*, p. 352.

⁴ Horatio Rogers' *Lieut. Hadden's Journal*, (Albany 1884), p. 104.

⁵ Holden's *Queensbury*, p. 457. DeCosta's *Lake George*, p. 121.

⁶ Dr. Rea's *Journal, Hist. Col. Essex Inst.*, (1881), pp. 200-201. N. Y. *Col. Doc.* X, p. 946. The *Journal of A Provincial Officer*, Dawson's *Hist. Mag.* under date Aug. 24th says: "Making oars for the sloop, the guard at half way brook relieved 300 regulars 500 Provincial troops to guard on Dimond Island and relieved." p. 119.

As soon as the batteau reached the head, a messenger under flying seal, was dispatched post haste to Albany with the news. The effect of the receipt of the intelligence from the bare-headed hurrying messenger, on Madam Schuyler, is too well known to require but passing mention here.¹ From evidence unearthed by Miss Diver in London, we find that General John Stanwix received the news on Sunday, July 9th, for he writes to Lieutenant Governor DeLancey at New York, on that date, from Albany at midnight, as follows:

"As affairs have not turned out so prosperously as we had wished, and that it may perhaps be necessary to raise the Militia, I am to desire that immediately upon the receipt hereof, you will order them to be raised, and yourself proceed here Forthwith, to give the necessary directions for raising those in these Quarters. As this is pressing I shall not enter into a Detail of what has happened, being in hopes to see you as soon as possible.

Poor Lord Howe is Killed, the General on that occasion very justly says: 'All the advantages we have gained is nothing in comparison to his loss, his Excellent Qualities as a Soldier, as well as in every other respect is sufficiently known. I have had such assistance from him that I both feel and lament his Loss in a particular manner.'"²

The foregoing is evidently the letter from Gen. Stanwix to Lieutenant Governor DeLancey referred to in the following despatch to Governor Denny at Carlisle, Pa., written by Lieutenant Governor DeLancey and enclosing General Stanwix's communication of the 9th. It is equally evident that this is not the letter of General Stanwix to Lieutenant Governor DeLancey dated July 12, which is missing from the State Archives, which might have explained why the body was buried in Albany.

"New York, 12 July, 1758.

Sir:

I received the Letter of which the inclosed is a Copy yesterday in the Evening. I have by the advice of his Majesty's Council laid an Embargo on all Vessels except Coasters until Further or-

¹ *A Godchild of Washington*, p. 50, Munsell's *Annals of Albany*, III, pp. 158-159.

² *Boquet Papers*, Add. Mss. 21,640, p. 77.

ders, hoping that you will think it expedient to take the like Measure until we shall be able from further Intelligence to judge of the state of our Army. I am just setting off for Albany.

P. S. Lord How was Killed in the skirmish on the Landing in which we gained some advantage, having taken 140 Prisoners, eight of whom are Officers. But were in attacking their advanced Post, our Affairs went ill. The Particulars we Know not, otherwise than is hinted in Genl Stanwix's Letter."¹

As soon as possible after the body was received at the head of the lake, a rude bier was prepared, and escorted by a detachment of soldiers, the dead hero was carried to Fort Edward. Rev. Joseph Hooper states in a recent letter that in the privately printed letters of the Shippen family, there are two treating of the Tipconderoga defeat. In the one of July 20, 1758, it is written, "Lord Howe is certainly dead and his body brought to Fort Edward." Judge Grenville M. Ingalsbe, one of the Vice-Presidents of this Association, writes me that he has heard his grandfather tell the story that his grandfather, Captain Ebenezer "Ingoldsby" as it was then spelled on the military rolls, was a member of the military escort which went with the body on its way to Albany. From Fort Edward the body was conveyed by batteau to Albany, where according to the letter of Abercrombie, Gen. Stanwix found it necessary to have it buried, further embalming being an impossibility. According to the traditions in the Schuyler family, and other old families of the city of Albany, Lord Howe was buried with military honors in the chancel of the then English Church, the St. Peter's of today.²

¹ This DeLancey letter from the *Bouquet Mss.* in the British Museum, is practically identical with the one described in *Calendar of N. Y. Hist. Doc.* (English) p. 691, copy of which was furnished me by Peter Nelson, Assistant State Archivist. An extract from the Stanwix letter of July 12, will also be found on the same page.

² Munsell's *Collections of the History of Albany*, I, pp. 390-391, 445-446, II, pp. 13, 14. Ibed, *Annals of Albany. Return of Abercrombie's Army*, II, p. 60. Tuckerman's *Life of General Phillip Schuyler*, pp. 60, 61. Mary Gay Humphrey's, *Catherine Schuyler*, p. 59. Butler's *Lake George and Lake Champlain*, (1869), pp. 220-222. Mrs. Bonney's *Historical Gleanings*, I, pp. 22, 157. See also Hough's ed. *Pouchot's Memoirs*, I, p. 112, note from Williams, *Vermont*, I, p. 505. Also note Hough's *Roger's Journals*, p. 119 where it is stated "Remains were probably removed to England after demolition of church in 1802." The evidence is all against this theory however.

The Colony of Massachusetts Bay erected a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey, an unusual mark of respect from Puritan colonials.¹

The English Church at Albany was built in 1715 and demolished in 1802. At this time, the remains of twenty-four persons buried under the old church, were reburied in a trench along the north foundation wall of the new edifice. It was at this time that the inspection of Lord Howe's remains was made by Elkanah Watson.² In 1859 the second church was torn down and the present St. Peter's church erected. The Albany Journal of March 30th, that year, has the following on the subject:

"This morning the remains of a double coffin was discovered, and in it were found the bones of a large sized person. That these were the remains of Lord Howe, there can be little doubt. Two pieces of ribbon, in a good state of preservation were found among the bones, which are supposed to have bound his hair together. Lord Howe was killed at the battle of Lake George, on the 6th of July, 1758, over one hundred years ago. There are persons now living in this city who distinctly recollect the fact of their removal from beneath the English Church, as it was then called, to the grounds of the present St. Peter's. It is alleged by them that the coffin was covered with canvas, and that saturated with tar; that it was opened, and exhibited the hair in a good state of preservation, dressed in the fashion of the day."³

We have neither time nor space here to go more fully into the matter of the Albany proofs. That ground having been thoroughly and convincingly covered by Dr. Hooper.⁴ Suffice it to say, that on the erection of the new St. Peter's, the body of Lord Howe found under the former church, was reverently deposited awaiting the day when earth and sea shall give up their dead, "under the vestibule of the present edifice, being enclosed within a brick wall which forms part of the foundation of the vestibule."⁵

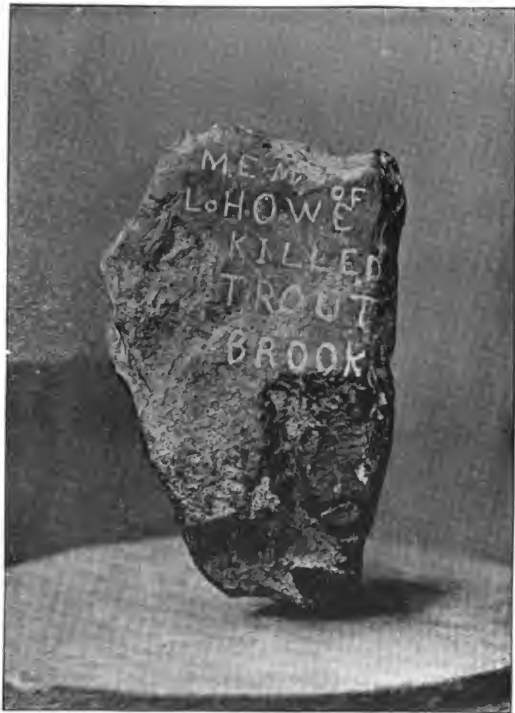
¹ See Appendix, for description of the erection of this memorial, also see photograph showing same taken especially for this publication, so far as is now known this is the first cut of this monument to appear in an American historical work.

² See Dr. Hooper's proofs also extract from W. C. Watson's *Hist. Essex Co.* in Appendix.

³ Munsell's *Col. Hist. of Albany*, I, p. 445.

⁴ See in Appendix.

⁵ Hooper's *History of St. Peter's Church*, p. 524.



LORD HOWE STONE

Unearthed at Ticonderoga, Oct. 1889, Now Preserved in Black Watch Memorial

Now comes the claim of Ticonderoga to be considered as the real burying place of Lord Howe. I will not take your time by going into this claim at any length. The ground has already been thoroughly, plausibly and well covered by Mr. Wicks in his admirable paper, whose premises once granted, would leave no room for argument, and by the paper presented before the Albany Institute in January, 1893, by Edward J. Owen, A. M., since deceased as I am informed. The facts briefly stated are these:

On Thursday, the 3rd of October, 1889, some laborers while digging a sewer trench in front of the E. M. Gifford place in Ticonderoga, about opposite the High School, found a partially decayed coffin, containing alleged human remains, at whose head was a lump of black lead, and a triangular shaped stone on which was rudely cut, indented or scratched these words:

MEM
OF
L^O HOWE
KILLED
TROUT
BROOK

The find then created a mild historical sensation. Ticonderogians and others claimed, and have insisted since, that the grave was Lord Howe's, and the remains those of that lamented nobleman. The battle of historians over this point has continued from that day to this. At the time Editor Tefft of the *Whitehall Chronicle* claimed the stone was intended for some L. O. Howe,¹ and had nothing whatever to do with Lord Howe. Judge James Gibson of Salem, one of the best informed local historians of this region, stated positively, that there were no tenable grounds for the assumption that this was the grave of Lord Howe.² The writer of this article, then local editor of the *Glens Falls Times*,³ went over the story with his father, the late Dr. A. W. Holden, Queensbury's historian, who while he received the discovery with an open mind, referred to the fact that in his large library of Americana, the authority was all the other way. Grave doubts as to the truth of

¹ *Whitehall Chronicle*, (Oct. 5, 1889.)

² *Salem, N. Y. Review Press*, (Oct. 18, 1889.)

³ His article in *Glens Falls Daily Times*, (Oct. 22, 1889.)

the matter were likewise cast on it by the Troy and Albany papers of that day.¹

An examination of a photograph of the stone has convinced me that it can not be contemporaneous with the period under discussion. One of the strongest arguments made by Prof. Owen is, that Joseph Peterson, then of Ticonderoga, claimed that his great grandfather Peterson, who was a stone cutter by trade, was the one who lettered this stone, and put it in the grave to mark it, and also that he was a member of Rogers' Rangers. This was told to Joseph Peterson by his grandfather Ephriam Peterson, who at the time was ninety-two or ninety-three years old. So his memory might easily have been, and undoubtedly was, faulty.²

The stone betrays itself in several particulars. In the first place, the expression "In Mem" or "In Mem of" was not commonly used until just before the Revolution. In fact it was most uncommon as the testimony of a number of experts on old epitaphs, and my own researches show, appearing on but a few head stones out of thousands, anywhere in this country.

"Here lyes" or "lies", or "Here lyeth" was the usual and ordinary form of beginning an epitaph on any tomb or grave stone up to about 1765 or 1770. The exceptions where the words "In Memory of" were used, before these dates, are so rare as to be noticeable for their rarity.³

¹ See *Troy Telegram*, (Oct. 21, 1889) and *Troy Press* of same date, and year.

² Prof. E. J. Owen's Monograph, *Burial of Lord Viscount Howe* strongly pro Ticonderoga, read before *Albany Institute*, (Jan. 3, 1893), p. 26.

³ For an epitaph of this same year 1758, with "Here lyes" see *Stark's Memoir*, p. 10. Consult also the *New England Hist. and Gen. Reg.* (for Oct. 1847 and July 1848), or their Vol. XVI, (1862), pp. 81, 258, 260, 337, or *Mass. Hist. Soc. Pro.* XVII (1879-1880) p. 241. For specimen epitaphs, out of fourteen noticed in the first mentioned periodicals, one only (in 1792) was "In Memory of." Miss Lomas writes "that the attendants in the British Museum state "Here Lyes" was the commoner form." The following American experts, in letters to me, also bear witness to the ordinary and common use of "Here lyes" and the uncommon and rare use of "In Memory of:" Dr. Samuel A. Green of the Mass. Hist. Society, Boston; George Francis Dow of the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.; and Geo. H. Evans, Librarian Woburn Public Library, Woburn, Mass., all of whom are generally familiar with the old burial places and old monuments of their own localities and New England. Two instances of later use of the form "Here lyes" i. e. in 1760 and 1817, are to be found in *Hist. Mag.* (Dec. 1861), p. 372. The New Haven Colony Hist. Soc'y., in its Papers III, (New Haven, 1882), pp. 471-614, gives 951 inscriptions on tombstones in New Haven,



Photo by Chas. D. Case, Fort Edward

THE GRAVE OF MAJOR DUNCAN CAMPBELL

Headstone, of Red Granite, in Gilchrist Lot, Union Cemetery, Between Hudson Falls (Formerly Sandy Hill) and Fort Edward. (Inscription has been Outlined in Chalk for this Photograph)

In this connection it seems a strange coincidence that the oldest head stone in this locality should be that of Duncan Campbell of Inverawe, killed in this same battle at Ticonderoga, and which today is still standing in the Union Cemetery between Hudson Falls and Fort Edward. We would naturally expect from the Lord Howe stone this contemporary one would have had "In Memory of," but instead it bears the legend "HERE LYES the body of Duncan Campbell, of Inversaw, Esqr., &c."¹

Next if the inscription had been prepared under the direction of General Abercrombie, the abbreviation "Lo" would not have been used. I had never seen it myself and wrote to Miss Lomas asking her if she had ever in her work run across it at the Record Office. She replied as follows: "I quite thought I had come across the shortened form 'lo' for 'lord'—But I think I must be mistaken, for I asked several experts at the Record Office and they all thought 'Ld' was used at that time. And on searching through 2 bundles of the correspondence (1755 & 1757) I often came across the abbreviation 'Ld' but never once 'Lo', which I think proves pretty well that the 'Lo' was not used then. 'Lds. of the Admiralty', 'Ld. Holderness' occurred several times. 'Lordships' seems to be always written in full, and of course, 'Lord' very often."

This disposes of the argument by Owen on p. 14 of his Monograph "The o of the L^o is smaller than the other letters, corresponding to the then prevalent practice in all papers and documents of designating the title of Lord by that abbreviation."

At any rate we can be morally certain that it would not have been used by Abercrombie, who was thoroughly acquainted with official titles, designations and abbreviations.²

erected previous to 1800. Up to 1760, "Here lies" appears 155 times, and after 1760, 24. "In Memory of" appears 31 times before 1758, 4 times in that year and 2 times in 1759. After 1760, it appears 280 times. How many of the older inscriptions "In Memory Of" were on stones put up after the year of death as a memorial is not known. A prevailing form in New Haven was simply the name and dates of birth and death, without introduction or comment.

¹ Dr. Asa Fitch's *Survey of Washington County in New York Agri. Soc. Trans.* (1848), p. 930. See also W. L. Stone's *Hist. Washington County, N. Y.*, pp. 103-104 and R. O. Bascom's *Fort Edward Book* for cut of stone to face p. 80. See also same cut as reproduced in this volume.

² Since the above was written, I received a letter from Miss Lomas in which she stated that her mother, also an expert copyist, had seen the

Again, if the stone had been prepared as claimed, under the direction of the Rangers the name would have been spelled HOW, which was the spelling in vogue by both French and Colonials, as proved by nearly all of the contemporaneous journals and diaries which have not been edited before publication.¹

The line KILLED AT TROUT BROOK, is however the most damaging piece of evidence, which this stone bears against itself.

As a matter of fact, "Trout Brook," as such, was not known at that time to the English. It was in French territory exclusively. It was called by Montcalm, "Bernes," "Bernets," and "Birney" River. It was also known as "River of the Falls."² A contemporary French sketch map of the period gives it as "R. Bernetz."³ Rogers who had repeatedly scouted the region calls it "the river that ran into the falls."⁴ None of the contemporary journalists or historians, previous to the settlement by the English, after Amherst's Campaign of 1759 and 1760 called it by the name of "Trout Brook." In fact Dr. Joseph Cook the authority on that region calls it Berney River in his Centennial Address at Ticonderoga.⁵

form "Lo" in old papers, but that it would have been "a very unusual and curious form to appear on a tomb stone." Inquiry however of Dr. Samuel A. Green of the Mass. Hist. Society, and Robert H. Kelby of the New York Hist. Society elicited the replies that neither of them had ever seen such an abbreviation. The writer also, carefully went over several years of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, covering this period, and in every volume the abbreviation used was "Ld." Our State Archivist A. J. F. van Laer writes that he has never seen the abbreviation "in any documents or records of the 18th or any other century." It is evident therefore, that it was not so very "prevalent" in England, nor familiar in America, at that date, and not used on tomb stones as an abbreviation even in England.

¹ *N. Y. Col. Doc. X.*, pp. 738, 741, etc. See *Roger's Journals* (London 1765), pp. 109-114; Lt. Samuel Thompson's *Diary*, (Boston 1896), p. 9; *Journal Dr. Caleb Rea*, (Salem 1881), p. 25; Buel's *Memoirs of Rufus Putnam*, p. 23, etc.

² There was a Lieut. Col. of the Royal Rousillon Regt. who was with Montcalm in this campaign as in preceding ones, by the name of Chevalier de Bernetz, Bernier or Bernes, from whom this stream probably took its then local name—Hough's *Pouchot*, I, p. 113. Also *N. Y. Col. Doc. X.*, pp. 604-605. See also for name of river idem, p. 738, 747, 791, 814, 845.

³ *Id.* French map, copied from original in French War Dept. No. 3498-144, to face p. 721.

⁴ *Rogers' Journals*, (Hough's ed. Albany 1883), p. 118a, same also in ed. 1765, p. 112.

Hist. Soc., 1909), pp. 66-67.

⁵ Joseph Cook's *Centennial Address at Ticonderoga 1864*, (Ticonderoga

Even the original surveys and deeds of the first families do not give this stream the name of Trout Brook.¹ Not a contemporary map has ever been found with the name of "Trout Brook" upon it.²

How then could this name, given to the brook by settlers in later days (on account of the abundance of the speckled beauties then found in it by the creel full), have been affixed to it by persons in 1758, who knew neither its value as a fishing preserve, whence it came nor whither it went? The old Latin proverb ran "*Falsum in Uno, Falsum in Omnibus.*" We have here shown however that not even in one particular does the Ticonderoga stone seem to belong to the day and generation to which it purports to appertain.

¹ In the *Land Papers* office of the Secretary of State there are to be found in XVIII, p. 4 grant to John Stoughton the first settler of Ticonderoga in 1764, and on p. 5 grant to John Kennedy. Mr. Paltsits kindly examined these for the writer and from the latter's data discovered that even on the original grants, and on the original survey filed with them (p. 5) the brook while shown is not named. He says on the survey for Lieut. John Stoughton, July 24, 1764, the following bounds are mentioned: "Southwesterly and southerly along the banks of the said river or waters to a brook which empties into the said river or waters, nine chains below the landing place out of Lake George." It is therefore plain that even at that day Trout Brook had not as yet received its later name.

² An exhaustive search for maps of this period has been most kindly made for the writer by State Historian Paltsits at Albany and at the Lenox Library New York; Miss Charlotte Van Peyma at the State Library, Albany, N. Y.; Miss Lena Diver at the British Museum, London; and by P. Lee Phillips, Chief Maps and Charts Division at the Congressional Library, Washington, in addition to an examination, by the writer, of every map published in any of the reference books mentioned herein. These all lead to the same result. The stream is shown but not named in any of the earlier maps. Parkman however, in his *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Frontenac ed.) shows a map opposite p. 301 entitled *Sketch of the Country Round Ticonderoga, Doen by Lt. E. Meyer of Ye 60th Regt.* On this map the stream is called "Trout Brook." The map looked suspiciously like an "edited" one to the writer and Mr. Paltsits coincided in this opinion. Miss Van Peyma, Miss Lomas and Mr. Phillips all reported that Lt. Elias Meyer the map maker as shown by the "*Army Lists*" of that period, and by Ford's *British Officers Serving in America*, was lieutenant in the 62nd Regiment from January 23, 1756, and capt. lieut. in the 60th Regiment from April 27, 1762. Miss Lomas says "The 60th was in America in 1758 and 1759, and part of it (it was divided into 4 battalions) was with Amherst in winter quarters in the latter year. The 2nd battalion was certainly with him, probably the first and perhaps the 3rd also, but these are not certain." We know this regiment or part of it was at Louisbourg (Richard's *Her Majesty's Army*, I, p. 290). It is doubtful therefore if Lt. Meyer ever saw Ticonderoga till 1759. The proof of the whole matter however lies in the fact that Miss Diver discovered in the British Museum the original "Sketch Doen by Lt. E.

The fact that the body was buried in a coffin or box, would also tend to discredit the story, as amid all the confusion of the army, the fact that at this time the supplies were hardly landed, and there was no place where boards for a coffin could be secured, the French Mill having been destroyed,¹ and the further fact that it was the custom then in case of a hurried military funeral, to inter the body in a cloak, blanket or canvas shroud,² would render it improbable that so much care would be taken as this would indicate, by officers so badly confused as the official despatches and private letters show.

The element of time in this matter must also be considered. I am informed by one of the best monument workers in this section that the cutting of thirty letters a day in granite or rock of a similar texture is considered a good day's work for a skilled man. And that if the lettering had to be done, as has been alleged it was, with a bayonet or other rude tool, it would take the better part of two days to accomplish this particular piece of work on the Ticonderoga stone. There being twenty-seven letters in the inscription.³

Meyer "in *Additional Mss.*, 21, 686 (30) on which is marked in pencil "8 July 1758," and she says "that 'Trout Brook' is NOT named in this little sketch." This shows conclusively that Parkman's map is not a true copy, but an interpolated one. Bancroft gives both names, Bernes River and Trout Brook in his *History United States*, (1852), IV, map to face p. 305.

³ Smith's *History Essex County N. Y.*, (Syracuse, 1885), p. 379.

¹ See letter in *Gentleman's Magazine*, (1758), XXVIII, p. 445, also Knox's *Journal*, p. 149.

² Compare the burial of Warren at Bunker Hill—"His remains were buried on the field, with such disregard of the claims of rank, as a man and a citizen, that only the supposition that Gage feared to place them in the hands of his (Warren's) friends for political reasons can account for the indignity with which the body was treated. As for the Americans with whom he fought, it is not known that they made the least effort to obtain the remains. He died and received the burial of an American rebel, a name of which his descendants are not ashamed.

"No useless coffin enclosed his breast,
Not in sheet or in shroud we bound him,
But he lay like a warrior taking his rest,
With his martial cloak around him."

Samuel Adams Drake in *Old Landmarks and Historic Fields of Middlesex*, (Boston 1888), p. 72.

³ To dispose of the Ticonderoga stone and its authenticity at this time, the writer is permitted to quote the following from the letters of Dr. John M. Clarke, *State Geologist*: "I may say to you, however, that in my judgment findings on behalf of the Ticonderoga claim could not be regarded as all in, until this monument has been subjected to an expert scrutiny. The question arises whether the apparent degree of weathering of the inscription is such as should have taken place after one hundred and fifty years of ex-

Then, too, the nails found with the alleged coffin are said to be the same as those used in the old fort.¹ If this be true, I would enquire how the English could obtain in 1758, nails from a fort which they did not capture until 1759, or occupy much till a year later.

Prof. Owen, the advocate of Ticonderoga as a burial place, gave as a reason for a hasty burial and the deposit of the two stones in the grave,² that it was desirable to mark the spot in some way and also protect it from the Indians with Montcalm, who might dig up the body in order to secure the scalp, and that the graphite lump was the mark of distinction. It seems remarkable that so distinguished a man should not have had some metallic insignia buried with him, in such an out of the way spot, to identify his body in the event of the grave being found, and that a lump of stone, which would have had to have been brought four or five miles, should have been chosen for such a purpose.³

On the other hand, we are credibly informed that later on, the body in Albany, supposed to be Lord Howe's, when taken up for re-interment, had coverings distinctive of his rank.

They who allege as a precedent the burial of Braddock on the scene of his defeat, in an unknown grave, and of Colonel Williams where he fell at the Battle of Lake George, should have chosen their arguments and precedents with more care. In the first place the official reports of Montcalm and his officers show that this was the only important French victory ever won without the aid of Indians. There were only sixteen of them⁴ with the army, most of whom were wiped out in the skirmish at the River Bernetz, or ran away.⁵ In the second place, while the body of General Braddock was never discovered, enough soldiers knew of the circumstance,

posure and burial, and whether this inscription has been renewed since the discovery of the stone. Only the geologist can determine the authenticity of this monument and its inscription * * *. In such cases as these it is not a matter of mere opinion or reasonable presumption as to what has taken place, but a question for accurate scientific determination."

¹ E. J. Owen's *Burial of Lord Viscount Howe*, p. 14.

² *Id.* p. 13.

³ *Id.* p. 26.

⁴ *New York Col. Doc.* X, p. 732.

⁵ *Id.* p. 738.

to hand it down to later generations. In the same way the family of Colonel Williams had sufficient knowledge of his burying place to enable a nephew about 1837 to find the remains in the place near Williams' Rock, at French Mountain where they had been deposited, and where they still remain.¹ If Lord Howe's body had been buried at Ticonderoga, certainly some one of the numerous New Englanders present, especially the Rangers, his friends, if no one else had done it, would have chronicled it, and we would have known the facts long before this, for such a burial could not have been accomplished in a secret manner. The good work carried on by the Essex Institute leads me to hope that even now there may be discovered some day, hidden away in some New England attic, a time stained manuscript which will set us all right in this matter.

Again, as has been so well said:² "Is it conceivable that Bradstreet, Stark, Putnam, Rogers, Capt. Schuyler, General Abercrombie, in fact the whole army would have forgotten him as soon as his heart ceased to beat * * *? If his grave was there and known, why did not Amherst know and why did he not have the body removed from the lonely grave? It will be remembered that the next year 1759 the British dominated Lake Champlain and Lake George, and that the French soldiers never returned."³

As remarked before, the element of time is to be considered. When killed, it is said Lord Howe was with Israel Putnam's division of the Rangers. Colonel David Humphreys in his life of that noted American soldier says "that Putnam remained on the field until it began to grow dark, employed in collecting such of the enemy as were left wounded to one place; he gave them all the liquor and little refreshments which he could secure; he furnished to each of them a blanket."⁴ Putnam and Stark were the intimate

¹ A. W. Holden's *Queensbury*, pp. 294-295. A. L. Perry's *Origins in Williamstown*, pp. 355-356.

² W. Max Reid's *Lake George and Lake Champlain*, (N. Y. 1910), p. 160.

³ That it was possible to find bodies, even under adverse circumstances, is shown by an interesting anecdote in Warburton's *Conquest of Canada*, II, pp. 22-23, taken from Galt's *Life of West*. Major Sir Peter Halket, accompanied by a party of Indians and American sharpshooters found the remains of his father and brother killed at the time of Braddock's Defeat, under the leaves and rubbish of the forest near the scene of the battle, where one of the Indians remembered seeing the two men fall. The bodies were easily identified, and buried with the usual honors. Bancroft also mentions this incident in revised edition of his *History of the United States*, (Boston 1879), III, p. 207.

⁴ Humphrey's *Life of Putnam*, (ed. 1812), p. 47. (Ibid. 1833), p. 41; Wm. H. Graham's *Life and Times of General Israel Putnam*, (1849), p. 21.

friends of Lord Howe among the Rangers, and to them, had the local burial been decided upon, would have been entrusted the sad task. On the one hand however, Putnam was looking after the French wounded, and Stark, the next day, performing military duties.

The next morning, also according to Humphrey, "Major Rogers was sent to reconnoitre the field "where Lord Howe was killed," that is the river bank, "and bring off the wounded prisoners; but, finding the wounded unable to help themselves, in order to save trouble, he dispatched everyone of them to the world of Spirits."¹ An officer writing to the Gentleman's Magazine, under date of July 9, 1758, gives the following account of the affair: "His Lordship was shot through the breast, and died instantly. Col. DeLancey was near him, but was not hurt. We soon routed this party, and took 152 prisoners, killing near 300, some of whom were scalped, by our people, but the most of them were left untouched until evening, when Major Rogers' Indians paid them the compliments of the knife."² Rogers' party which was on the scout continually, was evidently the party of "pioneers" seen at six o'clock on the evening of the 6th, by M. Duprat approaching the River Bernetz, and reported by him to Montcalm.³ This contemporary account verifies Humphrey, except as to the time when Rogers visited the ground.

We know that the army was under arms the entire night of the 6th and morning of the 7th. It would have taken some time to have prepared the coffin, selected a burial place, picked out the lump of graphite, unlike anything else then in that vicinity, graphite bearing rock not having been discovered until after Revolutionary times,⁴ and worst job of all to have found a proper head-

¹ *Life of Putnam*, (1833), p. 41.

² XXVIII, p. 445.

³ *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, p. 738.

⁴ Graphite rock was first discovered in Ticonderoga about 1815 or 1818 on "Grassy Hill" now known as Lead Mountain in the northwestern part of Ticonderoga. Dr. Cook is authority for the statement that in an ancient excavation several Indian arrows were found. So unless one of Montcalm's savages had fortuitously and fortunately dropped this rock so that the English might use it in this manner, its presence at this time and in this particular place would have savored of the miraculous. Cook's *Sketches* pp. 57-59. "Graphite, or black lead is to be found on the premises of W. A. G. Arthur, Ticonderoga. It is found in a wall of quartz or trap rock. * * * The Port Henry granular limestone appears in Ticonderoga, near Lake George. W. C. Watson, *Survey of Essex County* in *Trans. N. Y. S. Agri. Soc.*, (1852), pp. 786-787, 789.

stone, had it cut to shape and lettered. The death of Lord Howe occurred about four o'clock in the afternoon,¹ and the battle lasted until sundown,² which at this time of the year on Lakes George and Champlain, would have been around eight o'clock, with the afterglow if the day were clear. But both the 6th and 7th were cloudy, as many July days on Lake George are apt to be, with a shower the latter day.³

The skirmish took place according to different diarists from one and a half to two miles from the Lake George Landing Place. While Dr. Joseph Cook insists that it was near the confluence of Trout Brook with the Outlet.⁴

S. R. Stoddard says in a now rare work: "Toward the north, down where the waters of the lake circling around are joined by those of Trout Brook from the valley on the west, the gallant Lord Howe * * * was killed."⁵

On a very scarce map of Lake George loaned me by Mr. Stoddard, the spot where Lord Howe fell is marked as about opposite the old village of Alexandria (Upper Ticonderoga now) on the west bank of the Outlet, and in a southwesterly direction from the upper falls. This map shows the spot as quite a distance from the junction of the brook and the Outlet.⁶ Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Maryland, one of the "signers," who with Dr. Benjamin Franklin, and Samuel Chase, under the guidance of Phillip Schuyler journeyed through Lakes George and Champlain, as the special commissioners from Congress to Canada, in April, 1776, writes under date of the 21st: "I took a walk this evening to the saw-mill which is built on the principal fall of the river flowing from Lake George into Lake Champlain.⁷ * * * A little to the north-westward of the saw-mill, on the west side of the river, I visited the spot where Lord Howe was killed."⁸

¹ Dr. Cook's *Centennial Address*, (Ticonderoga 1909), p. 71. See also Montcalm's Report *New York Col. Doc. X*, p. 792.

² *Journal Col. Archelaus Fuller*, in *Col. Essex Inst.*, (1910), XLVI, July, pp. 213-214.

³ *Journal of Dr. Caleb Rea*, pp. 24-25.

⁴ *Home Sketches* p. 102, *Centennial Address* p. 71.

⁵ Stoddard's *Ticonderoga*, (Albany, 1873), p. 11.

⁶ *Miller's Lith.* 142 Broadway, N. Y. n.d.

⁷ This was not the old French Mill, that having been destroyed, but one of a later period, and apparently from descriptions at hand on the south side of the outlet, "at the south end of the lower falls" *Home Sketches*, pp. 20-21. See pamphlet *A Memorial Tablet at Ticonderoga*, (1910) p. 15.

⁸ His *Journal*, (Baltimore, 1865), p. 56.



LORD HOWE MONUMENT, (TROUT BROOK,) TICONDEROGA, N. Y



AT TICONDEROGA

Boulder in Academy Park to the Heroes of the Four Nations—Indian, French, English and American—Who Fought at Ticonderoga

Monument Marking the Supposed Spot Where Lord Howe was Killed, at the Mouth of Trout Brook
(Both Boulder and Monument Were Erected by the Late Rev. Joseph Cook)

In that most interesting sketch, "The Storming of Ticonderoga," M. Dudley Bean says: "Till within the last third of a century an old ranger lived who was in that battle, and who often made pilgrimages to the very spot where Lord Howe fell; and has pointed it out to many who yet live to identify it. No monument marks it, and it is to be regretted that the road now most commonly travelled diverges from the main battleground. Nearly one mile north from the Lower Falls, on the outlet of Lake George, close by the little rivulet called Trout Brook, upon its western margin, legend points out the scene. The noise of battle and din of war are no longer heard, but the little rivulet murmurs in all its primitive charm, the wild deer bound over the sacred mound where he fell, and the forest trees shade it; and there among the oaken leaves, the pure air, fresh from the everlasting mountains which sacredly guard it, 'sings the warrior's requiem.'"¹

It is rather a nice point for a non-military expert to pick out at this late day the exact spot where the death of Lord Howe occurred. But it can be safely said without fear of contradiction that it was on the westerly side of the stream, later called Trout Brook. In the morning Rogers and his men had been sent to take possession of the ground near the mills, and make an investigation of the French dispositions. From the confused description in his Memoirs this might have been across the brook, but if it was, he soon recrossed with Col. Lyman and Col. Fitch of the Colonials² who heard the firing of Langy's men, or De Trepezec's detachment. The Colonials and Rogers' men faced about to the south, while the English army with the rest of the Rangers and Lord Howe were coming on to the north, but on the southward of the Brook. This brought the French between the two fires, forcing them to try and escape by the Outlet at the east, and practically catching them as in a trap.³ Those who were not killed or drowned, were forced to surrender to the overwhelming odds. There is therefore absolutely no authority for stating that Lord Howe had crossed the brook, nor was anywhere near the spot where his alleged remains were discovered.⁴

¹ *Knickerbocker*, (July, 1850), p. 18.

² *Rogers' Journals*, (Hough ed.), p. 118a.

³ Parkman's, *Monticain & Wolfe*, (ed. 1899), II, 301-303.

⁴ *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, pp. 722-723, 735, 738, 742, 747, 792, 814, 845.

We know from the letters and reports that everything was in confusion, and that a furious fight was waged all along the river bank and the spot where Lord Howe fell. So by the time the body was brought in, the day would have been far advanced. There was no moon to help, even if its rays could have penetrated the gloomy forest, and no starlight because of the overhanging clouds.¹ It requires a strong imagination to believe that the stone cutter, plying his trade by a camp fire, if one were allowed, owing to proximity of the enemy, could have accomplished his task, even had he started at the time Lord Howe was killed, under fourteen to sixteen hours, which would have taken until the next morning.

Dr. Rea's Diary also a letter of Capt. Moneypenny state—the one that "Lord How was Brou't in and imbalmed," the other that his body was "preserved with all the care the place would allow of." The term "brou't in" therefore would mean "to headquarters," which had been established by the General at or probably on the rising ground further back toward the Landing, where the commander-in-chief with so large a force naturally would be. In fact, it is entirely probable that the body was brought back to the Landing Place. It stands to reason that it would not have been taken the other way, as the army did not occupy the advanced French ground until the next night, or that of the 7th. The place where the alleged remains of Lord Howe and the stone were found, according to a rough map furnished me by the Hon. Howland Pell, was across the Outlet, then without any bridge, about half a mile away from the alleged scene of his death on Trout Brook, and necessarily until the night of the 7th, in French territory.

If the object was to have a secret burial, the body would not have been deposited in the ground during daylight, nor even at night, so near the French lines. For Montcalm was kept informed of every movement of the English troops, by his spies, as his reports show. It would have been impossible, impracticable and unnecessary to have buried the body on the night of the 6th, exhumed it and had it transported to the head of the lake, where it was seen

¹ Ames *Astronomical Diary and Almanac*, says for this date in 1758: "July 5 at 4 a. m. was new moon." F. L. Tolman, Reference Librarian, N. Y. State Library.



Frontier of New York Harbor
JOURNAL OF THE ALBANY EVENING JOURNAL
Third Line From Bottom

on the morning of the 8th by Lieut. Thompson.¹ If we only had the missing letter of General Stanwix it might enlighten us as to when the body was received in Albany. It is certain that Abercrombie's letter to Pitt was dated July 12th, although like many official reports, it may not have been completed for days, and that the missing letter from Stanwix to DeLancey was dated on the 11th. Between the 7th and the 11th of July the body had been transported to Albany and been buried by General Stanwix.² There is no inconsistency here as there was abundant time for a messenger to bring the news back to Abercrombie, and for him to insert it in the letter that was to go to Lord Pitt, even if it was not in the other two letters of the same date, which were the ones published and more commonly known. Miss Lomas however has the following explanation of the discrepancy, which is very plausible:

"In answer to your letter of June 13th, I beg to enclose my affidavit, made at the American Consulate, in relation to the passage on pp. 298-299 in the Correspondence of William Pitt.

The copy in N. Y. Colonial Documents, Vol. 10 (p. 725) is (*as there stated*) taken from the "London Gazette Extraordinary" for August 22, 1758. On collating these two, I find that they agree exactly; that is, in *both*, the passage in question is omitted. The letters in the Gazette were often officially edited before publication. In this case, it was probably thought, that the family of young Lord Howe might prefer the passage concerning his body, omitted, and perhaps the few lines about the troops which follow, were left out by accident."

It is certain that Stanwix knew of the defeat and the death of Lord Howe, on the 9th, for he sent as stated, an account of it to Lieut. Gov. DeLancey then in New York, on that date.³

There is another phase of this matter which is peculiar in this respect. All accounts agree that Lieut. Thomas Cumberland (or Cumberfort as it is also spelled)⁴ of the 80th Regiment of Foot, (Col. Gage's Light Infantry) was, with eight others, killed at the same time with Lord Howe. They were certainly as deserving of

¹ His *Diary*, p. 9.

² See also *Boston New Letter*, July 13, and *Boston Gazette*, July 17, 1758, Mass. Hist. Society Library. (Dr. Joseph Hooper's paper.)

³ His Letter in *Boquet Papers* Add. Mss. 21, 640, p. 77.

⁴ See *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, pp. 731, 735.

christian burial as he, and it would seem unlikely that if the soldiers were preparing a grave, coffin and headstone for Lord Howe, that they would not treat his brother officer with the same consideration and respect. But no other coffin, and no other remains were found, although the trench in which they were discovered extended, as I understand it, the length of the street, and they would necessarily have been buried together, so that the other remains should have been found at or about the same time. Especially as Peter Duchane, who found them, swore that the stone and head of the box or coffin were in the ditch, he was digging.¹

This fall in making the state road at Lake George, a row of skeletons was uncovered by the steam shovels in the main road. It is a matter of common knowledge that in military burials, it is customary to dig a long trench, in which the remains of the dead are interred side by side.

But some critics will ask, how can the presence of the remains and the headstone be explained? This is entirely a matter of theory and conjecture on both sides. In view of the fact that the lettering on the headstone has the characteristics of Revolutionary times, rather than of the days of the French and Indian War, the writer believes the most reasonable theory and one which if the truth were known is the right explanation, to be as follows:

After the capture of Fort Ticonderoga in 1775 by Col. Ethan Allen, it was more or less occupied by the American forces. At the time of Burgoyne's Invasion we know that a good sized garrison was stationed there.

In July, 1776, Gen. Gates was in charge of Ticonderoga. It is not only probable but most likely that included in his garrison were many of the men who had fought in the French and Indian War, and had taken part in this very battle. What more natural thing could have occurred, than that one of them having nothing to do at the time, should have picked up this piece of rock, intending to place it at the spot where Lord Howe fell as a monument, and with his bayonet pricked upon it the inscription which has been so often referred to in this article and that of Mr. Wicks. This would account for the apparent anachronism in the use at the beginning of the epitaph, of "In Mem" as well as that of "Trout Brook" at its ending.

¹ Prof. Owen's *Monograph*, p. 28.

At this time smallpox was prevalent in the camp, and the men were dying on every side.¹ It would not be an improbable thing that the marker of this stone should be taken with the disease, die and be buried, in what would have been a spot reasonably far enough removed from the camp, to comply with the regulations of Gen. Gates. It would also be natural that seeing the stone and lump of rock in his tent, that the comrades who bore the soldier to his last resting place, should take them along to prevent further infection, and deposit them in the same grave. As a matter of fact similar stones were erected on Mount Independence at the time of the "camp distemper in 1776" one of which was in existence at the time the place was visited by B. J. Lossing.²

Or the body may have been that of some soldier killed in a skirmish with the Indians, or the enemy, who had prepared the stone as suggested, and whose comrades buried with him, for future identification, the two pieces of rock. For instance Henry Sewall writes his father of the same name, at York, Mass., under date of June 18, 1777, "of an attack by the Indians on the outposts at Ticonderoga. This was followed by another attack on a scouting party on the lake [George!] Three of the party were killed, and brought in. They belonged to the New Hampshire forces."³ It does not require much imagination to connect the death of one of these men, and his burial across the Outlet, with the Lord Howe stone, for the original Rogers' Rangers were from New Hampshire, and many of them, excluding their leader, afterwards a Tory, fought for the cause of independence.

It is also granted that these theories are entirely imaginative, but in view of the fact that the inscription on the stone does not comply in any respect with the requirements of the period it is supposed to represent, the hypothesis of the writer should be entitled to consideration, as well as that of the supporters of the Ticonderoga theory.

There is current a legend to the effect that with the Ticonderoga remains was found a bullet, and in the skull a bullet hole. If so, it would prove at once the body was not Lord Howe's, as he

¹ Spark's *Writings of George Washington*, IV, p. 12.

² Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution*, (N. Y. 1851), p. 148.

³ *Hist. Mag.* (July, 1867), p. 8.

was shot in the breast. However the papers at the time did not mention the finding of the bullet or bullet hole. Prof. Owen, in his monograph, tells of finding the coffin, the skull, the bones, the stone, and piece of graphite rock, then says: "A fragment of a brass button; also several nails—old fashioned hand made such as are found in the old fort—were found, but nothing more."¹ The affidavits of Peter Duchane, the finder; John C. Fenton, Town Clerk; Chas. A. Stevens, merchant, and R. C. Wilcox, physician and surgeon, as given by Owen,² do not mention any bullet, or bullet hole, so that story may be dismissed as a myth.

To sum up the entire matter we have proved that the body of Lord Howe was brought into camp the night of the 6th and partially embalmed. That it was transported to the head of the lake by direction of Captain Moneypenny and presumably by the order of the commander in chief on the 7th and 8th. That it was in charge of Major Phillip Schuyler as his statements and persistent tradition in the family prove. That the arrival of the body at Fort George or Fort William Henry was noted by Lieutenant Samuel Thompson on the 8th. That according to Lossing who had an intimate acquaintance with the traditions and papers of the Schuyler family, it was taken to Fort Edward on a rude bier. That according to the Shippen papers, its presence at Fort Edward was known, before it was placed on the batteau to be taken to Albany. That in the Ingalsbe family is a tradition that an ancestor was one of the soldiers who escorted the remains to Albany. That a special messenger brought the news to General Stanwix at Albany, who knew of the facts and had sent them to Lieutenant Governor DeLancey at midnight of the 9th. That the Boston Gazette and Boston News Letter, the latter of July 13th and the other of July 17th, announce the arrival of a courier from Albany, which place "he left Monday evening last" i. e., Monday, the 10th, with "a letter from Albany to a gentleman in this town dated July 10th, stating the body of the Right Honourable Lord George Viscount Howe was brought to Albany last Monday."³ That General Abercrombie in his official despatch announces that the condition of the body on its arrival at Albany was such that General Stanwix was obliged

¹ Owen, p. 14.

² Id. pp. 27-31.

³ See photographs showing this item.

to order it buried. That there is still among the archives of St. Peter's Church what is known as the Church Book, containing the treasurer's accounts for that year, the only written church records of that parish for those days which have survived carelessness, several big fires, and lack of interest of the earlier settlers of Albany. In this is an entry showing a charge made on the occasion of Lord Howe's funeral for the use of the church pall, or coffin drapery, employed in olden times. The advocates of Lord Howe's burial elsewhere, insist on rejecting this entry, which if allowed, would of course settle the argument once for all taken in connection with the proofs offered by Dr. Hooper and myself.¹

In this connection the question has been frequently asked, by those who are in doubt as to this matter,—why if Lord Howe was such a favorite in Albany, did not the Albany papers have an account of his burial, or why did not the inhabitants of the staid old town, make some record of it, since it must have been conducted with all due regard to his rank and station, and have been an imposing even though saddening spectacle? The answer to the first query is an easy one. There were no papers published in Albany at that time, the nearest being printed either in New York or Boston.² And in these, or some of them, did appear the accounts of his death and burial, as has been so fully shown.

As to the second query, that answer is also somewhat obvious, if we take into account two circumstances. First—the death of Lord Howe was followed by the wildest rumors, and the inhabitants of Albany, believing Montcalm already at their gates, with his band of scalp takers, murderers and fiends, employed the year before in the massacre at Fort William Henry, were too busy packing up, and preparing to fly to New York or Boston, to pay attention to anyone, especially a dead Englishman, hero and beloved one though he was.³ Second—the slow running Dutch blood of the older burghers of this old Hollandish town had not taken any too kindly to the high-spirited, dancing, wine drinking play act-

¹ Dr. Hooper's *Hist. St. Peter's Church*, pp. 524-526. See also photograph showing page in Church Book with this entry.

² Weise's *History of Albany*, The *Albany Gazette* was the first paper published in Albany, starting in November, 1771. It was discontinued in 1776, p. 506. *Munsell's Annals of Albany*, II, p. 191.

³ W. L. Stone's *Sir Wm. Johnson*, II, pp. 74-75. See note also, same pages. Baxter's *Godchild of Washington*, p. 50.

ing English, billited on them against their wills, and in spite of their remonstrances.¹

In Dr. Morse's *American Geography* published in 1789, he says, "Albany is said to be an unsociable place * * *. To form a just idea of the manners and customs of the inhabitants, we must confine ourselves to the Dutch, who being much the most numerous, give the *tone* to the manners of the place."² In 1795, the Duke de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt visited Albany, and gave his views of the inhabitants as follows: "I was by no means displeased at leaving Albany. The Albanians, to speak generally * * * are the most disagreeable beings, I have hitherto met with in the United States."³ In 1800 Gorham A. Worth writes, "Albany was indeed Dutch, in all its moods and tenses; thoroughly and inveterately Dutch. The buildings were Dutch—Dutch in style, in position, attitude and aspect. The people were Dutch, the horses were Dutch, and even the dogs were Dutch."⁴ It was only a few years, however, according to Mr. Worth, before the "Yankees" had captured Fort Orange, and from that time to this, no complaint of its cordial welcome has been expressed by the stranger within its gates.

With this condition prevailing as it did in 1758, it no longer seems peculiar that Lord Howe's burial escaped notice, or attention when we reflect first upon the excited and troubled state of minds of the residents of Albany, and secondly upon the apathy, and dislike with which everything English was viewed by all except a very few of the better educated and more influential families. Then too the crushing defeat of Abercrombie's army, and the arrival at Albany of boat load after boat load of the wounded for care and attention,⁵ were matters more important, both to chronicle and talk about, than the interment of Lord Howe, which after all was but an incident of war, while the other was a dread calamity.

¹ Mrs. Grant's *Memoirs of an American Lady*, (N. Y. 1846), pp. 152-160.

² Munsell's *Annals of Albany*, I, p. 282.

³ *Id.* IV, p. 238.

⁴ Worth's *Random Recollections of Albany* (1866), p. 27.

⁵ Munsell's *Annals of Albany*, II, p. 60. *Memoirs of An American Lady*, (N. Y. 1846), pp. 182-183. Mrs. Bonney's *Historical Gleanings*, I, p. 22. A. J. Weise's *History of Albany*, p. 331. Miss Kimball's *Correspondence of William Pitt, Abercrombie to Pitt*, I, p. 301.

Again one of the strong arguments used by the anti-Albany party has been, that it was strange that no particular mark was affixed to the spot where Lord Howe was buried, as well as that so little notice was taken of the ceremonies at the time. An exactly parallel case, however, can be adduced in that of Gen. Edward Whitmore, who was prominent in the siege of Louisburg, in the same year 1758, and who remained behind as governor of the conquered territory. He was drowned in Plymouth Harbor in 1761. In spite of the accident and his prominence, and a public burial of notable character, not one bit of notice was taken of it by the papers at the time. "He was buried under King's chapel (in Boston) but neither newspaper notice, probate record, escutcheon or ring remain, to show to what family he belonged or what coat of arms he used."¹

Continuing our proof, we find, that at the taking down of the old English church in 1802, the remains of the deceased nobleman, distinguished by a coat of arms, a special coffin, and a rich silk damask cerement were seen and handled by Elkanah Watson, the historian, and his assistant, Henry Cuyler, a British half pay officer, then residing in Greenbush, who knew the location of the grave.² That the remains were again interred under the second St. Peter's church along the north foundation wall with twenty-four other bodies which had been buried under the old church.³ That at the demolition of the second church in 1859, Lord Howe's remains again distinguishable by a black silk ribbon referred to by Mr. Watson, were seen by the building committee of the present church, one of whom, Jesse Potts of Albany, described the exhumation and reburial under the vestibule of the present church.⁴ That at the time of the original discovery of the alleged Howe remains in 1889, it was stated by both the Troy Telegram and the Troy Press,⁵ that W. W. Crannell, then an aged resident of Albany, "said he was present when the old church which occupied the site of the present St. Peter's was torn down, and he saw the coffin of Lord Howe exhumed."

¹ Dawson's *Historical Magazine*, (May, 1857), pp. 157-158.

² See Dr. Hooper's proofs Appendix.

³ Munsell's *Col. Hist. Albany*, I, p. 445.

⁴ Dr. Hooper's *History St. Peter's Church*, p. 524.

⁵ Their respective issues of Monday, Oct. 21st, 1889.

We have thus traced the body of Lord Howe from the spot where he was killed to the place where his remains were finally buried.

On the other hand what disposition should be made of the Ticonderoga claim. They have an apparently authentic head stone, some bones, and the tradition of Peterson the Ranger and stone cutter, to offset the Albany theory.¹ It should be noted however that the head stone does not possess a single characteristic pertaining to the period of 1758 and that every line of the inscription contains either an anachronism or an error. That the remains were not distinguished by any mark of rank or indication, as to whom the buried person might be. That the remains were buried in a place to which the English had absolutely no access up to the night of the 7th, being over half a mile away from the spot where Lord Howe was killed and across the Outlet, at that time in French territory. That the existence of graphite bearing rock, a specimen of which was also found in the grave, was not discovered until the early part of the nineteenth century in this locality. That opposed to the Peterson tradition is the Ingalsbe tradition as well as the constant and persistent traditions of the Schuyler family and the statement of General Schuyler to Chancellor Kent, as well as the statement of Mrs. Cochrane, Schuyler's daughter, to the Historian Lossing in after years.

Contrasting therefore the two sets of proofs, it is at once apparent, that the consensus of historical evidence is that the remains of Lord Howe were buried in Albany, and that by no possibility could they ever, at any time, have been buried at Ticonderoga.

But supposing that we all have been mistaken. That the incredible, unbelievable and impossible, in the light of today's evidence really had happened. That what seemed to be facts were but the iridescent imaginings of a dreamer's fancy. That General Abercrombie and Capt. Money Penny only imagined they had the body "taken care of," as reported; that Dr. Rea did not know it was "imbalmed;" that Lieut. Thompson did not see it, nor Schuy-

¹ The statement of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, mentioned by Owen, p. 16, about "the hurried grave to which his venerated remains were consigned," occurring as it does in a piece of fiction, must be rejected as purely fictitious writing.

ler take it to Albany; that history and tradition are alike at fault, and that through all the years to 1889, Lord Howe's remains had lain near the sounding waters of the little new world village, in whose then undisturbed forests he had met his fate one hundred and thirty-one years before—what then? Even in that case we could not leave him “without a grave unknell'd, uncoffined and unknown.” So whether there, as some believe beside the tumbling, singing falls of ancient Carillon, or as others think under the beautiful chancel of some old English church, or the green turfed surface of Albany's silent city of the dead, or, as we have proved, beneath the groined arches of St. Peter's gothic pile, we can only say,—beloved in life, lamented in death, his soul sped that our country might in time be free, buried—he fills a hero's grave; he lived, he died—let him rest in peace.

APPENDICES.

- I. OFFICIAL DISPATCH OF GENERAL ABERCROMBY.
- II. DR. JOSEPH HOOPER'S PROOF OF THE ALBANY INTERMENT.
- III. W. C. WATSON'S DESCRIPTION OF THE BURIAL OF LORD HOWE.
- IV. DESCRIPTION OF THE HOWE MONUMENT, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.
- V. THE CREDIBILITY OF GENERAL ABERCROMBY.
- VI. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1758.
 - a.* CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS.
 - b.* LOCAL HISTORY.
 - c.* GENERAL ACCOUNTS.
 - d.* FICTION.
 - e.* POETRY OF THE CAMPAIGN.
 - f.* MAPS AND DEPICTION.
- VII. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.
- VIII. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

APPENDIX I.

OFFICIAL DESPATCH OF GENERAL ABERCROMBY.¹

Camp at Lake George, July 2, 1758.

SIR:—

The Embarkation of the Artillery, Stores and Provisions being completed, on the evening of the 4th Inst. next Morning at Break of Day, the Tents were struck; and all the Troops, amounting to 6367 Regulars, Officers & Batteau-Men embarked in about 900 Batteaux & Whale Boats; the Artillery to cover our Landing being mounted on Rafts.

At 5 in the Evening, reached Sabbath-Day Point, (25 miles down the Lake) where we halted till ten; then got under way again, & Proceeded to the Landing Place,² (a Cove leading to the French Advanced Guard) which we reached early the next morning, the 6th.

Upon our arrival sent out a Reconnoitering Party, and having met with no Opposition, landed the Troops, formed them in four Columns, Regulars in the Center, and Provincials on the Flank, and marched towards the Enemy's advanced-guard, composed of one Battalion,³ posted in a logged Camp, which, upon our Approach, they deserted, first setting fire to their Tents, & destroying everything they cou'd; but as their Retreat was very precipitate, they left several things behind. . . . The Army in the Foregoing Order, continued their march thro' the Wood, on the West side, with a Design to invest Tienderoga, but the wood being very thick, impassable with any Regularity to such a Body of Men, and the Guides unskillful, the Troops were bewildered, and the Columns broke, falling in one upon another.

Lord Howe, at the Head of the right Center Column, supported by the Light Infantry, being advanced, fell in with a French Party, supposed to consist of about 400 Regulars,⁴ and a few Indians, who

¹ The above is to be found in the London Record Office in A. and W. I., vol. 87; is also printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, X, p. 725, *except part in capitals*.

² "Howe's Landing" at the foot of Lake George.

³ M. Trepezec or Trepezee's detachment.

⁴ Trepezec's and Langy's troops who were endeavoring to reach the fort by going back of the English forces.

had likewise lost themselves in their Retreat from the Advanced Guard; of these our Flankers killed a great Many, & took 148 Prisoners, among whom were five officers & three Cadets. But this small Success cost us very dear, not as to the Loss of Numbers, for we had only two Officers killed, but as to Consequence, His Lordship being the first man that fell in this Skirmish, and as he was very deservedly, universally beloved and respected throughout the whole Army, it is easy to conceive the Grief and Consternation his untimely fall occasioned; For my part, I cannot help owning that I felt it most heavily, and lament him as sincerely—I CAUSED HIS BODY TO BE TAKEN OFF THE FIELD OF BATTLE, AND SENT TO ALBANY, WITH A DESIGN TO HAVE HAD IT EMBALMED, & SENT HOME, IF HIS LORDSHIP'S RELATIONS HAD APPROVED OF IT, BUT THE WEATHER BEING VERY HOT BRIG^d. STANWIX WAS OBLIGED TO ORDER IT TO BE BURIED.

THE ARMY, AS I OBSERVED BEFORE, BEING DISPERSED & NIGHT COMING ON FAST, I COLLECTED SUCH PART OF IT AS WERE WITHIN MY REACH, & POSTED THEM UNDER THE TREES, WHERE THEY REMAINED ALL NIGHT UNDER ARMS.¹

The 7th in the Morning, having yet no intelligence of the Troops that were missing, . . . and the Troops with me greatly fatigued, by having been one whole night on the Water, the following day constantly on foot, & the next Night under Arms, added to their being in want of Provision, having dropped what they had brought with them, in Order to lighten themselves, it was thought most adviseable to return to the landing Place, which we accordingly did, and upon our Arrival, there, about 8 that Morning, found the Remainder of the Army.

About 11 in the Forenoon, sent off Lieut. Col. Bradstreet, with the 44th Regiment, 6 Companies of the 1st Battalion of Royal Americans, the Batteaux Men and Body of Rangers, & Provincials to take possession of the Saw Mill,² within two Miles of Tienderoga, which he soon effected, as the Enemy who were posted there, after

¹ This part is entirely omitted in the letter published in *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, p. 725.

² At the northerly end of the portage on the "lower falls."

destroying the Mill & breaking down their Bridge, had retired some-time before.

Lieut. Col. Bradstreet having laid another Bridge across & having sent me notice of his being in possession of that Ground, I accordingly marched thither with the Troops, & we took up our Quarters there that night: . . . It was thought most advisable to lose no Time making an Attack, wherefore, early in the morning of the 8th, I sent Mr. Clerk, the Engineer, across the River on the opposite side of the Fort, in order to reconnoitre the Enemies Intrenchments. Upon his return & favourable Report of the practicability of carrying those Works, if attacked before they were finished, it was agreed to storm them that very day.

Accordingly the Rangers, Light Infantry, and the Right wing of Provincials were order'd immediately to march and post themselves in a Line out of Cannon Shot of the Intrenchment, the Right extending to Lake George, & their Left to Lake Champlain in order that the Regular Troops destined for the Attack of the Intrenchments, might form in their Rear.

The Piquets were to begin the Attack, sustained by the Grenadiers, & they by the Battalions, the whole were ordered to march up briskly, rush upon the Enemy's fire, and not to give theirs, until they were within the Enemy's Breastwork.

After these Orders issued the whole Army except what had been left at the Landing Place to cover and guard the Batteaux and Whale Boats, and a Provincial Regiment at the Saw Mill, were put into Motion, and advanced to Tienderoga, where unfortunately they found the Intrenchments, not only much stronger than had been represented, & the Breast work at least Eight or Nine Feet high, but likewise the Ground before it covered with felled Trees, the Branches pointed outwards, which so fatigued and retarded the advancing of the Troops, that notwithstanding all their intrepidity and Bravery, which I cannot sufficiently commend, we sustained so considerable a Loss, without any Prospect of better Success, that it was no longer prudent to remain before it, and it was therefore judged necessary for the Preservation of the Remainder of so many Brave Men, & not to run the risk of the Enemy's penetrating into his Majesty's Dominions, which might have been the case, if a Total

Defeat had ensued, that we should make the best retreat possible. Accordingly after several repeated Attacks which lasted upwards of four Hours, under the most disadvantageous Circumstances, and with the Loss of 1610 Regulars, 334 Provincials killed & wounded as by the Enclosed List,¹ I retired to the Camp we occupied the night before, with the broken Remains of several Corps, sending away all the wounded to the Batteaux about three Miles distance and early the next Morning, we arrived there ourselves, embarked and reached this in the evening of the 9th.²

Immediately after my Return here, sent the wounded Officers and Men that cou'd be moved to Fort Edward, & Albany; & having so many Officers unfit for present Service, it was judged impracticable, at this Time, to reattempt the Reduction of Tienderoga, & Crown Point; wherefore it was thought adviseable, to divide our Numbers & to reinforce Brig^d. Stanwix, in Order, if possible, to prevent the Enemy from putting into Execution their designs against the Mohawk River & Coming down to Albany; I have accordingly detached, the New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, & a Regiment of the Massachusetts Bay Troops, consisting with those already there, in a Body of 5600 Men, to take Post at the Oneida Carrying Place, for the Purpose mentioned in Mine of the 29th of June.

And since Lieut. Col^o. Bradstreet remained of opinion that it was still practicable to succeed in his Plan against Cadaraqui, which he proposed last winter to Lord Loudoun, I have given him the Command of 3600 of the above Men, to proceed with them from the Oneida Carrying Place, against that Fort; attempt the Reduction thereof, and destroy the Vessels they have lying there, or if neither of these Attempts should prove practicable, then to watch the Motions of Mo^r de Levy, & by engaging him, obstruct and prevent his advancing and penetrating towards the Oneida Carrying Place; in one or other of which I shou'd hope Lieut. Col^o. Bradstreet may prove successful, as he is not only very active, but had great Knowledge of the Country, & that I have provided him with every Thing he thought requisite for that purpose . . . on the

¹ Montcalm's loss was under four hundred.

² See Winsor V, p. 524, for plan of Ticonderoga, also Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, II, p. 300; A. G. Bradley's *Fight With France for North America*, p. 238, Bancroft, IV, p. 305, for maps.

Morning of the 8th Day of the Action, Sr. William Joined me with about 300 Indians, who are all since returned, except a very few that were out upon a Scout, and Sir William has followed them, in Order to be aiding and assisting to Brigadier Stanwix.—Under these Circumstances, which leave me the greatest Concern & Anxiety, I shall carefully watch the Motions of the Enemy, and prevent, as much as possible, their Reaping any advantage from the Check we have met with.

I have the Honour to be, with the greatest Respect, Sir,
Your most obedient & most Humble Servant,
JAMES ABERCROMBY,¹

APPENDIX II.

REV. JOSEPH HOOPER'S PROOFS OF THE ALBANY INTERMENT.

[WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES BY J. A. H.]

The writer and the Association are indebted to the Rev. Joseph Hooper M. A., Durham, Conn., author of the History of St. Peter's Church, Albany, who has made a special study of the interment of Lord Howe from the Albany view point, for permission to use part of an address delivered by him last spring before the Institute and Historical and Arts Society, of the Capital City. It is to be regretted that space is lacking in which this very eloquent, able and convincing essay might be published in full. The Rev. Walton W. Battershall, D.D., rector of St. Peter's Church, in Albany, informed the writer that Mr. Hooper's researches in that city had been so thorough that absolutely no scrap of contemporary church evidence had been left unfound or unsearched for.

In connection with the proofs given by the writer, the following as submitted by Mr. Hooper should be considered:

"Those who were witness also of this engagement tell us that

¹ Gertrude Selwyn Kimball's *Correspondence of William Pitt*, (New York 1906,) I, pp. 297-302.

Lord Howe's body was taken immediately to the rear,¹ that it was embalmed,² and under the charge of Captain Philip Schuyler, especially attached to Lord Howe and serving as assistant deputy quarter master, brought to Albany,³ and interred under the first St. Peter's Church standing on State Street.⁴ The three contemporary statements proving this are of the greatest interest and value at the present time. The first will be found in the Journal of Lieutenant Samuel Thompson, of Woburn, Mass.,⁵ then serving in a regiment of that Province, and stationed at the foot of Lake George near the site of the Fort William Henry. He was a man of worth and character living to a good old age, and holding many public offices in his native town. He gained a reputation by his discovery and propagation of the Pecker apple, now known as the Baldwin. He says, under date of July 8, Saturday, 'Post came from the Narrows; and they brought Lord How to ye Fort, who was slain at their landing.'

The second I found in the only copy of the Boston News-Letter for July 13, 1758. It is an extract from a letter of a gentleman in Albany to his friend in Boston, dated July 10, 1758.

'The Body of the Right Honorable Lord George Viscount Howe, was brought to Albany last Monday.'

A portion of the same letter, describing the skirmish and with the same statements concerning Lord Howe, is found in the Boston Gazette for July 17, 1758. By the courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society where these precious papers are, photographic copies of the page on which the letter is, have been made.⁶

The third is from the Church Book of St. Peter's, Albany, which contains the treasurer's accounts, records of elections of Vestry, a pew list, and other items of interest for the period from 1718 to 1765. Upon a page recording the receipt of other sums of money is this entry:—

'1758, Sept. 5th. To cash Rt. for ground to lay Body of Lord how & Pall, £ 5- 6s - 0.'

¹ See Capt. Moneypenny's letters ante.

² Dr. Caleb Rea's *Journal*, (ed. 1881), p. 25.

³ Lossing's *Schuyler*, I, p. 155.

⁴ Munsell's *Collections*, II, pp. 12-13 385-386.

⁵ His *Diary*, (Boston 1896), p. 9.

⁶ See photograph of these papers accompanying this article.

⁷ Consult plates reproduced for this article.

1758			What Cash Received		
April 2	To Cash Collected		1	14	0
" 9	To Cash P.		1	3	6
" 16	To Cash P.		1	10	6
" 23	To Cash P.		1	7	6
" 30	To Cash P.		1	12	0
May 7	To Cash P.		2	2	6
" 12	To Cash P.		3	11	0
" 14	To Cash P.		3	0	0
" 21	To Cash P.		1	19	5
June	To Cash R ^t for ground in rear lanes		2	2	0
	To Cash R ^t for (breeding ground)		2	1	0
	To Cash R ^t for Bull		0	6	0
July 24	To Cash R ^t for ground		0	1	0
" 16	To Cash R ^t for Bull		0	6	0
	To Cash R ^t for ground		0	1	0
	To Cash Collected		0	11	0
August 27	To Cash R ^t for ground to lay for sheep		5	6	0
" 30	To Cash R ^t for ground (how to lay the		0	0	0
Sept 5	To Cash R ^t for ground to lay the		5	6	0
" 8	To Cash R ^t for ground to lay the		5	6	0
October 8	To Cash R ^t for ground to lay the		2	1	0
November 5	To Cash Collected		0	19	0
" 12	To Cash P.		0	14	0
December 3	To Cash P.		1	16	0
January 1	To Cash R ^t for ground		0	11	0
" 11	To Cash Collected		1	0	0
March 10	To Cash P.		1	19	5
" 25	To Cash P.		2	9	5
April 3	To Cash R ^t for Bull		0	15	0
" 11	To Cash R ^t for ground		0	0	0
" 18	To Cash R ^t for ground		0	0	0
" 25	To Cash R ^t for ground		0	0	0
" 25	To Cash R ^t for ground		0	0	0
" 25	To Cash R ^t for ground		0	0	0

Courtesy of Rev. Joseph Hooper

ST. PETER'S CHURCH BOOK
Lord Howe Entry Sept. 5th

This date, nearly two months after his death may in these days of rapid transit to Europe seem very late for this payment to be made, but when it is remembered that the extraordinary Gazette which announced the defeat of Genl. Abercromby at Ticonderoga, two days after the death of Lord Howe, was not issued until August 18, our wonder ceases. It was the earliest possible time that a sum of money could be remitted from his relations in England. When, in 1802, the old Church was being taken down, the bodies of all those buried within it were removed to the new Church on the corner of Lodge and State streets.⁸ From the account of the exhumation of Lord Howe's remains by Elkanah Watson,⁹ may be taken this extract:

'As the bones were then collected to be thrown into a promiscuous mass, I conceived the idea of getting possession of this skull of a Lord. I ascertained from Henry Cuyler, a British half-pay officer residing then at Greenbush, the precise spot where he was buried, which was also indicated by his coat of arms being placed on the E. wall, nearly over the tomb. I took the opportunity, to avoid exciting curiosity, when the workmen were gone to dinner, and with the aid of my man, we removed all the dirt and rubbish which covered the remains of a double coffin containing his ashes. The outer one made of white pine, had nearly moulded into dust; the inner one being made of mahogany, was with some exceptions sound, but in some places it had rotted. The weight of the earth had forced its way intermingled with his Lordship's bones. I removed the lid and found a thick rich silk damask in which his cold remains were enshrouded on his interment, apparently sound. In attempting to remove it, it crumbled into dust. I then perceived the object of my research within my grasp, resting in peace after slumbering forty-four years (44 years) within this damask. I raised it with great caution with my left hand and to my astonish-

⁸ Munsell's *Collections of Albany*, I, pp. 444-445, with extracts from *Albany Journal* of 1859, corroborating this statement.

⁹ Elkanah Watson, born this very year of 1758, was a well-known chronicler and recorder of the events of his day and generation. After taking part in the Revolution he became a great traveler in this country and abroad, a friend and correspondent of Franklin, Adams, Humphreys, Chancellor Livingston, etc. He left a great mass of MSS., material which his son and literary executor, a careful and able historian, made use of in *Elkanah Watson's Men and Times of the Revolution*, (New York, 1856), and his own *History of Essex County*.

ment I found a fine set of shining teeth; the hair of his head in excellent preservation completely matted with powder and pomatum as if recently done by the frizure. The que was very neat, the ribbon and double beau apparently new & jet black, but on touching it moldered between my thumb and finger. I concluded with Mr. Cuyler who alone was in the secret to send it to his family in England. On further consultation we thot that it would only open a fresh wound which bled nearly half a century ago and answer no valuable purposes.'

Among the documents in the Archives of St. Peter's is the receipt of William Boardmen, sexton, for the removal of sixteen bodies and their reinterment in the new St. Peter's. This number agrees by actual count with names found in the Church Book as buried within the fabric of the sacred building. To complete the chain of facts, it only requires the statement of Mr. Jesse Potts, a member of the building committee for the present church in 1859.¹⁰

At the demolition of the second St. Peter's Church two coffins were discovered under the chancel of the said church. One of them bore the inscription on a silver plate: 'In this coffin are the bones of my father, James Stevenson, and my five children.' This coffin was removed to the Albany Rural Cemetery. The other coffin was opened in the presence of the Building Committee. It contained the skull and larger bones of a human body, also a large tuft of human hair about six inches long, which was tied with black ribbon, stained but undecayed. This coffin bore no inscription, but was supposed to contain the remains of Lord Howe. The remains were deposited in a stout box which was buried under the vestibule of the present church, being enclosed within a brick wall which forms part of the foundation of the vestibule.

Opposed to the substantial facts which have now been detailed, there is a remarkable tale of the fancy and the imagination which would seek to deny what had been until twenty-one years ago, constantly affirmed, in manuscript, print, and by tradition. I hold in my hand a copy of the Ticonderoga Sentinel for Thursday, Oct. 17,

¹⁰ Dr. Hooper's *History of St. Peter's Church, Albany*, p. 244.

1889,¹¹ in which there is given, reprinted from the issue of October 10th, this startling account:

LORD HOWE'S REMAINS

Discovered in Ticonderoga

*Last Thursday by laborer while digging a trench for a
Sewer for the Academy.*

Thursday, Oct. 3rd, while some laborers in the employ of Alex Lee were digging a trench for a sewer from the Academy when in front of E. M. Gifford's place one of the men, Peter Dushane, discovered about four feet below the surface, a partially decayed coffin containing human remains. At the head of the coffin was a piece of plumbago or black lead, and a stone with one flat side. There has been considerable speculation as to whose remains they were. The place where they were found was carefully examined for any reliet that might throw light on the subject, but nothing was discovered of the kind, save the rusty nails of the coffin which are old fashioned hand made nails, such as are found in the ruins of the old Fort. Peter Dushane took the piece of plumbago and the stone with him, just as they were, covered with a hard incrustation of lime and clay. On Wednesday evening, Mr. Dushane, who could neither read nor write, took the stone tablet to the law office of John C. Fenton, Town Clerk, and there after the removal of the clay it was found to be rudely chiselled with the following words:

IN MEM
OF
Lo. HOWE
KILLED
TROUT BROOK.

These words were evidently picked into the stone by a bayonet or other sharp instrument. It is a stone irregular in shape, apparently lime stone, with one partially smooth side about seven by nine inches, and will weigh thirty-five or forty pounds. The bones are partially, and some wholly, decayed, many of them being broken when removed from their resting place. The coffin was probably pine, although it is difficult to say, as the remains of the same are

¹¹ [I have verified this account as correct from my own copy of the issue of Oct. 10, 1889. J. A. H.]

in flakes or decayed pieces about 5-8 of an inch thick. The evidence seems to be conclusive that the remains are those of Lord Howe. They with the stone tablet, and piece of black lead ore have been placed in the hands of the Supervisor and Town Clerk for safe keeping, so they can be identified at any time. A number of years ago, our eminent townsman, Joseph Cook, erected a monument on the spot where Lord Howe was supposed to have fallen.

According to the statement of Robert Rogers, the scout, who with the Rangers, was in advance of the army on that July day, 1758, Lord Howe was shot in a skirmish while in lead of a pursuit of the French and Indians. Rogers was posted on rising ground, one quarter of a mile from 1,500 of the enemy who were at the saw mill at the lower falls, keeping watch of them until the main body of the army came up. It was near this rising ground that he said Lord Howe was killed. * * * The locality thus selected for the burial of Lord Howe, was on a knoll, slightly elevated above the surrounding country and evidently a very suitable spot for the resting place of so eminent a man.

No definite statement has ever been authoratively made as to the disposal of the remains of Lord Howe. It is true that in the foot notes to Watson's History of Essex County, it is stated by way of extract from Roger's Journal that his body was taken to Albany, and buried in St. Peter's, the old English Church in that place. It has been stated, and of this there is apparently no doubt, that when the old church was rebuilt in 1802, and again in 1859 no remains were found in the place to which they were alleged to have been conveyed. It is evident therefore that the body never was taken to Albany. It was hastily buried the night before the great battle; the stone rudely cut as well as the piece of graphite was placed in the grave as a means of future identification. The battle occurred the next day—the British retreated—the ground was held by the French. In the hurry and excitement of the flight of Abercromby's army, the grave was abandoned, and if any attempt was ever afterwards made to recover the remains, it was futile. But the place unmarked by outward signs to prevent depredation by the Indians, could not be identified. It has remained undisturbed, until one hundred and thirty-five years afterward, when the chance blow of a laboring man opened the grave of a man beloved by the colonials and the pride of the British Army.

We, therefore, believe that the grave of Lord Howe has at last been found, and we suggest that it remains for the citizens of Ticonderoga as well as for our whole country to properly and decently inter the relics of the illustrious dead, and erect a suitable memorial to his memory.

Our land does not boast of many dead heroes of the last century. Let us honor this man, whose grave has been so unexpectedly found.'

With no loss of time the people of Ticonderoga heralded far and wide, the discovery. Within two weeks a notice of it was read by Englishmen living in India. It has been incorporated into the sketch of Lord Howe in the *English National Biography*,¹² and has been firmly believed by men who have the reputation of historical scholars. Comment upon it was made by many papers, both in the State of New York and elsewhere. A long series of letters will be found in the newspapers of Albany, from October, 1889, to February, 1890. In these letters the writers took different views. Some claiming that the indisputable fact of the burial at Albany, could not be injured by any such story. * * *

Early in November, 1889, the Rev. Dr. Battershall, the well beloved rector of St. Peter's, searched the only available archive of the parish for some entry concerning the burial of Lord Howe, and was rewarded with finding the item already given as one of the 'statements.' This with the information concerning the removal in 1859, he embodied in a letter to the *New York Evening Post*. It is proper here to mention as bearing upon this subject, that statements concerning several burials within the fabric of the first St. Peter's are found in the "Church Book." Unfortunately there is no burial register for this period. But the matter contained in the Church Book, will be always of inestimable value to those who care for the history of the city and the ancient parish.

Professor Owen following his newspaper article wrote an extended account of the finding of the body and by a well arranged argument, sought to prove that the Albany tradition, as he called it, had no foundation in fact.¹³

¹² Miss Van Peyma, of the State Library, states that the *Dictionary of National Biography*, III, refers as its authority to the *Newcastle (Eng.) Weekly Chronicle*, supplement 2, (January, 1892).

¹³ Prof. Owen's *Burial of Lord Viscount Howe*, pamph. n. p. n. d. 31 pp., with cut of stone and map of district around Ticonderoga, by D. M. Arnold, C. E.

On January 3rd, 1893, he read before this historic body, his paper, and reviewing at length the newspaper controversy, and the contradictory character of the various letters, declared that he had proved his point. * * *

The manner in which Mr. Owen disposes of the entry in the Church Book shows the speciousness of his argument.

'The entry in the treasurer's book of St. Peter's Church does not of itself establish the fact of the burial there. In view of the uncertain and conflicting testimony as to the disposition of the remains taken to Albany this entry might merely relate to the fact that there had been the purchase of some ground in anticipation of the reception of the remains. Under no circumstances would the mere purchase of a burial lot for the dead, of itself prove the fact of the interment of the dead in the lot, unless corroborated by other evidence. Besides it is a curious fact that the entry is in the nature of a debit entry, the entry is in September, two months after the death of Lord Howe. May we not as well infer that the entry has reference to money refunded to the Church after it was found impossible to bring the remains to Albany?'

The present writer in his examination of this claim thirteen years ago said: 'The entry concerning the burial of Lord Howe is similar in form to others of the same period; as for example:

1758, August 27, To cash Rt. for ground

to lay the body of Captain Barkman	Ls.	d.
Paull,	5.6.	0.

The pall it will be remembered is a covering for the coffin used as the body is borne up the aisle or to the place of burial, and was only required for actual burials. There is no dispute concerning the receipts for other interments of a similar form. * * * The suggestion that it might have been money returned, must be dismissed for then it would appear in another place, and been in some other form as may be ascertained by several items found in the book, of funds received from church wardens and others, in whose hands they were.

Professor's Owen's paper, in a condensed form, was also read at a solemn re-interment on July , 1900, when in the presence of a large audience an oaken casket with silver plate containing the remains found was deposited in the Academy Park under a great

boulder, marked with the names of those prominent in the history of Lake Champlain and Ticonderoga.

Mr. Joseph Cook made one of his characteristic orations, and with a portion of the solemn burial office, pronounced by the Rev. John E. Bold, sometime rector of the Church of the Holy Cross, Ticonderoga, the final committal of the 'remains' until the Resurrection Day was made.

But it is useless to discuss here the paper of Dr. Owen (who has since died) in the light of our present knowledge of the resting place of the Honourable George Augustus Scrope, Lord Howe.

His paper will always remain one of the curiosities of literary imagination and mythical history.

What honor shall Albany pay to the memory of this young hero who died before he had achieved the fulness of his success? * * * [Dr. Hooper here gives a description of Westminster Abbey, the monument and its inscription, which is omitted as it also appears elsewhere].

This is the Hero's only memorial. What will the Capital City do for one who loved it and gave himself for its defense?"

APPENDIX III.

W. C. WATSON'S DESCRIPTION OF THE BURIAL OF LORD HOWE.

In his *History of Essex County*,¹ W. C. Watson, the well known historian of that region, and the one most generally referred to, in connection with the burial of Lord Howe at Albany, on account of his father's story of the exhumation of the body in 1802, says, regarding the death of his lordship at Ticonderoga, its effect on the army, and the subsequent interment of the body in Albany:²

¹ Pp. 87-88.

² Practically the same article is to be found in *Trans. N. Y. Agri. Soc.* for 1852, in Watson's *Survey of Essex County*, pp. 88-89. Also in his *Fortresses of Crown Point and Ticonderoga*, in the *Orderly Book at Ticonderoga*, Munsell, (Albany, 1859) pp. 186-187.

With him expired its spirit, its confidence, and hope. All afterwards was prompted by imbecility, indecision and folly. Generous and kind, gifted and accomplished, instinct with genius and heroism, Howe died deeply lamented. The next day a single barge retraced the track of the flotilla bearing the body of the young hero, who but yesterday had led its brilliant pageant. Philip Schuyler, then just entering upon his distinguished career, escorted the remains with all the tenderness and reverence due the illustrious dead. The body was conveyed to Albany and buried in St. Peter's Episcopal Church, which stood in the middle of State street. His obsequies were performed with every pomp of military display and all the solemnities of religious rituals. An heraldic insignia marked the location of the grave. Forty-four years had elapsed and in the progress of improvement, that edifice was demolished and the grave of Howe exposed. A double coffin was revealed. The outer one, which was made of white pine, was nearly decayed; but the other, formed of heavy mahogany, was almost entire. In a few spots it was wasted, and the pressure of earth had forced some soil into the interior. When the lid was uncovered, the remains appeared clothed in a rich silk damask cerement, in which they were enshrouded on his interment. The teeth were bright and perfect, the hair stiffened by the dressing of the period, the queue entire, the ribbon and double brace apparently new and jet black. All, on exposure, shrunk into dust, and the relics of the high bred and gallant peer were conveyed by vulgar hands to the common charnel house and mingled with the promiscuous dead. The character and services of Howe received the most generous tribute of respect and eulogium from the French.¹ Massachusetts, in gratitude and reverence, erected a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey.²

¹ Montcalm's dispatch, Pouchot.

² I am indebted, in part, to a published letter of Mrs. Cochrane for the fact of the interment of Howe in St. Peter's, and to the manuscript of Elkanah Watson for the circumstances of the exhumation. The tradition that Howe, as an example to his troops, caused his hair to be cut short, has cast some doubt on the accuracy of the statement in the text. Pouchot alludes to the same fact, and says the hair was left "two fingers breadth long." (Pouchot, 1, 110). In my judgment, if the story is correct, it does not conflict with the account in the manuscript. It was the fashion of the age to wear the hair in long locks or ringlets. This habit had probably been introduced into the army, and Howe desired to correct it. No motive of cleanliness, which was doubtless the prominent object with Howe, made the excision of the queue necessary. Short hair, rather than long, would have exacted careful dressing for a funeral preparation. The manuscript states that the identity of the grave was established not only by the coat of arms which surmounted it, but also by the recollection of Henry Cuyler, a half-pay British officer, who was at the time a highly respected resident of Greenbush.



[Specially Taken by the Head Verger for J. A. Holden]
LORD HOWE'S MONUMENT IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

APPENDIX IV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE HOWE MONUMENT, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

One of the most remarkable events connected with the death of Lord Howe was the erection to his memory of an elaborate monument in Westminster Abbey, by the Province of Massachusetts Bay. An unusual mark of respect, and esteem, by a Puritan colony to a Patrician soldier.

Dr. Samuel A. Green of the Massachusetts Historical Society writes:¹ "On February 1, 1759, the General Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay voted 'the sum of Two Hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling, to be laid out in erecting a Monument to the Memory of the late Lord Howe.' "

Among the papers sent S. H. P. Pell, by Lord Browne, and turned over to the writer, was a copy of the "Resolution adopted by the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, order of the Great and General Court, by his Excellency the Governor, Council and Assembly." This reads as follows:

The Great and General Court bearing Testimony to the sence which the Province had of the services and Military virtues of the late Lord Viscount Howe who, fell in the last Campaign fighting in the Cause of the Colonies, and also to express the affection which their officers and soldiers bore to his Command.

Ordered that the Sum of Two Hundred and Fifty pounds sterling be paid out of the Publick Treasury to the order of the present Lord Viscount Howe for erecting a monument to his Lordship's memory, to be built in such manner, and situated in such Place as the present Lord Viscount Howe shall Choose.

And that His Excellency the Governor be desired to acquaint his Lordship therewith in such manner that the said Testimony may be engraved on such Monument.

Copy attest,

A. Oliver, Secy.

This paper being among the family records, shows that the intent of the Province was carried out, and the family must have

¹ His letter of Nov. 28th, 1910.

complied with the request, for Miss Lomas and her colleague Miss Diver have sent me excerpts from contemporary papers, as well as extracts from the standard books on the Abbey memorials. Miss Lomas writes:¹ "The Howe memorial at Westminster Abbey is just inside the West door of the Nave (N. side). Mrs. Murray-Smith's Roll-call from which I enclose an extract, gives a plan of the nave with monuments, showing its exact position. It was moved to its present position a good many years ago. Originally it was under one of the windows." Through Miss Lomas the writer secured a very fine photograph of the monument, reproduced herein, for the benefit of those who have never seen the original, in its hallowed and historic environment.

The contemporary and historic accounts are as follows:

Yesterday a beautiful Monument, designed by Mr. Stuart and executed by Mr. Scheemakers, to the Memory of the late gallant Lord Howe, was opened in Westminster Abbey. On the top is a Trophy of Arms in fine white Marble, and on a Flat Pyramid of black Marble, highly polished, are his Lordship's Arms, Coronet and Crest, in white Marble. On the top of the Monument sits a beautiful Figure of a Woman in a melancholy Position, and inimitably well executed representing the Province of Massachusetts Bay and underneath the following Inscription:

"The Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, by an Order of the Great and General Court, bearing Date Feb. 1, 1759, caused this Monument to be erected to the Memory of George Augustus, Lord Viscount Howe, Brigadier General of his Majesty's Forces in America, who was slain July 7, 1758, on his March to Ticonderoga, in the 34th Year of his Age; in Testimony of the Sense they had of his Services and Military Virtues, and of the Affection their Officers and Soldiers bore to his Command. He lived respected and beloved; the Public regretted his loss; to his Family it is irreparable." (*The St. James Chronicle or The British Evening Post*, London, from Tuesday, July 13, to Thursday, July 15, 1762, No. 210.)

Yesterday a curious Monument was opened in Westminster Abbey to the Memory of the Right Hon. George Augustus Viscount Howe, Brigadier General of his Majesty's Forces in America, who was slain there the Sixth of July, 1758. (*The Public Advertiser*, London, Thursday, July 15, 1762, Numb. 8641).

¹ Her letter of Dec. 7th, 1910.

The Monument of Brigadier General Viscount Howe, which is raised against the window———was designed by I. Stuart, and sculptured by P. Scheemakers. It is, principally, of white marble, and consists of an immense tablet (supported by Lions' Heads on a plinth) having a regular cornice surmounted by a Female Figure, representing the Genius of Massachusetts Bay sitting mournfully at the foot of an obelisk, behind which is a trophy of military ensigns; and in front, the arms and crest of the deceased.

Inscription.

Arms: sculp. A Fess betn. three Wolves' Heads, coupéd: Howe. Crest: a Lion's Gamb, erased. (Edward W. Braley, *The History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster*, II, p. 237).

"Viscount Howe (1758), elder brother of the great Admiral Howe (whose memorial is at St. Paul's) fell in the flower of his age, during the first disastrous expedition against Ticonderoga, before which fort he was killed. Wolfe speaks of him in terms of high praise, as "the noblest Englishman that has appeared in any time, and the best soldier in the British Army." The monument was put up by the people of Massachusetts, only a few years before the province severed itself from the Mother country, as a testimony to their gratitude, and to the general's worth—(E. T. Murray Smith, *The Roll Call of Westminster Abbey*, p. 343).

[Lord Howe, 1758, Monument erected June 14, 1762.] Massachusetts and Ticonderoga,¹ not yet divided from us, appear on the monument in the South aisle of the Nave, erected to Viscount Howe, the unsuccessful elder brother of the famous admiral. (Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D. D., late Dean of Westminster, *Monuments of the Eighteenth Century*, in *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, pp. 236-237.)

¹ Massachusetts is the female figure on the top of the monument. It was executed by Schumberg.

APPENDIX V

THE CREDIBILITY OF GENERAL ABERCROMBIE.

A careful study of both English and American compilers of history, has impressed the writer with the feeling that an act of injustice in the way of criticism and fault finding has been committed, in the case of General Abercrombie,¹ the leader of this expedition. He has been made the scapegoat of the affair by American writers, and some English ones. The following epithets have been applied to him by contemporary and later historians: Incompetent, imbecile, coward, pusillanimous, unready, poltroon, old squaw, booby-in-chief, old woman, blockhead, idiot, Mother Nabby Crombie, etc.

The bromidism "nothing succeeds like success" comes into full play here. Had Abercrombie succeeded, his detractors and critics would have been the first to have lauded him to the skies. As a matter of fact General Abercrombie was, for those days, a very fair example of an English general, accustomed to old world tactics² entirely out of sympathy with the colonial officers and forces, but possessed of that insular self-sufficiency and contempt for American ways and manners, which affected every English officer and leader, except Lord Howe, who came over to command our forces during the Colonial war, or was sent against us at the time of the War of the Revolution, or War of 1812.

General Abercrombie was born in the year 1706. Having obtained his company, he was commissioned as major in 1742, lieutenant-colonel of the Royal Scots in 1744, served throughout the war in Flanders, in 1746 was promoted to colonel, serving as quartermaster-general in France, was wounded the following year in the Low Countries, made colonel of the Fiftieth Regiment in 1755, and in 1756 promoted to major-general. In March of the same year he was given the command of the Forty-fourth Regiment of Foot.

¹ For some reason American writers have chosen to spell the name with the termination "ie." The English usage was to write it with a "y" final.

² Abercrombie was a bluff but dull soldier. * * * He was brave even to rashness. * * * He always wanted to do everything with the bayonet * * * too obtuse to see any difference in the chance of that weapon, between the open plains of Europe and the tangled woods of America. A. C. Buell's *Sir William Johnson*, (N. Y. 1903), pp. 164-165.

Conqueror Magazine



W. A. H. 1781

GENERAL ABERCROMBIE

From a Rare Print in Possession of James Austin Holden

MAJOR GENERAL JAMES ABERCROMBIE (1706-1781)
English Commander-in-Chief

He came to America in June of that year and served in 1757 under Lord Loudon against Louisburg. The fall of the same year he was made commander-in-chief of the American army, which carried with it the command of the Sixtieth or Royal Americans. After his defeat by Montcalm, July 8, 1758, he was recalled by the king and returned to England. Here he was triumphantly acquitted by a court martial, was made lieutenant-general in March, 1759, and general in the Army in May, 1772, previous to which he had been appointed deputy-governor of Sterling Castle. He died at his seat at Glas-saugh, Banffshire, Scotland, April 23, 1781.¹ The fact that he was thus so greatly honored at home, must be taken into account in considering his credibility as a witness, which has been attacked in this matter.

One of his bitterest critics was Charles Lee at this time a subordinate officer, who was severely wounded in the attack on the French lines.² This was the same Lee who had treated Madame Schuyler so brutally a few weeks earlier, by impressing her cattle and doing other offensive deeds, but who was glad to call her an "angel" when, wounded and helpless, she cared for him after the battle.

It was the same Charles Lee who became one of our major-generals in the War of the Revolution and who for some of the very faults he condemned in Abercrombie, was tried by court-martial in 1778 at Brunswick, N. J., found guilty of disobedience of orders, of misbehaviour before the enemy by making an unnecessary and disorderly retreat, and of disrespect to General Washington the commander-in-chief.³

A great deal of contemporary history, as well as some of later date, was written by superannuated teachers and professional men, "decayed preachers" or subsidized historians. While in this country innate and ingrained prejudice prevented anything like a fair explanation of General Abercrombie's campaign being made at the time, and later historians have simply followed the lead of the older ones, without taking the trouble to look into the merits of the case or man. One writer states that Smollett and other historians of the period were deliberately hired to attack William

¹ *N. Y. Col. Doc.* VII, p. 345.

² *The Charles Lee Papers*, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col.* (1871), pp. 6-15.

³ *Memoirs of an American Lady* (N. Y. 1866), pp. 178-182. *Trial of*

Pitt for carrying on this war, claiming its continuance was unnecessary.¹ The opinion of the contemporary colonials or even of the officers with Abercrombie at the time, must be taken with several grains of allowance. No man was ever more bitterly criticised than General McClellan in our Civil War. But it was due to his foresight and ability to delay the game, that the Army of the Potomac was welded into one of the grandest fighting machines the world has ever known. So Abercrombie by his work, paved the way for the still more cautious Amherst the following year. The indictments brought against General Abercrombie by his contemporaries and later historians are practically the following: First, lack of ability. Second, making repeated frontal attacks without flanking movements. Third, not bringing up his artillery. Fourth, remaining in his tent, two miles away from the scene of action. Fifth, making a precipitate retreat instead of besieging the French fort, thus compelling it to surrender. Sixth, giving orders to remove the cannon at the head of the lake to Albany or New York.

Believing that very few writers of history, either of old or modern times would have been possessed of enough military ability to command a corporal's squad, much less a larger body of troops, under similar circumstances, the following facts are offered in rebuttal of the accusations: First, as to Abercrombie's ability. He had served with distinction on the European battlefields. Pouchot, an experienced French officer, calls him "an old and very prudent officer." He is also commended in a French account in the Paris Documents.² In the "Memoirs of an American Lady" he is called "a brave and able man, though rather too much attached to the military schools of those days, to accomodate himself to the desultory and uncertain warfare of the woods, where sagacity, ready presence of mind, joined with the utmost caution, and condescension of opinion to our Indian allies, was of infinitely more consequence than rules and tactics."⁴

Palfrey calls him "a well intentioned but sluggish officer."⁵ General Wolfe's description of him is as follows: "Abercrombie is

¹ Anon. *Anecdotes of William Pitt*, (London 1792), I, pp. 176-177.
Major General Lee (N. Y. 1864), pp. 238-239.

² Pouchot's *Memoirs*, (Hough ed.), I, p. 109.

³ *Col. Doc. X*, p. 747.

⁴ *Memoirs of an American Lady*, (N. Y. 1866), p. 175.

⁵ Palfrey's *Compendious History of New England*, IV, p. 238.

a heavy man, and Brigadier P—the most detestable dog on earth, by everybody's account. These two officers hate one another. Now, to serve in an army so circumstanced is not a very pleasing business."¹

At this time General Abercrombie was fifty-two years old. He is spoken of in William Parkman's diary as "an aged gentleman infirm in mind and body—(William was seventeen at the time),² But when we realize that Wellington and Napoleon at Waterloo, were both forty-six years old; Gates at Saratoga forty-eight; Stark at Bennington forty-nine; Israel Putnam at the time of Bunker Hill fifty-seven and General Thomas Gage fifty-four; Sir William Howe when in command of the British Army fifty; Admiral Edward Boscawen prominent at Louisburg forty-nine, it seems ridiculous to attribute the age of this officer as one of the causes of defeat.

A modern English writer says of him: "He was fifty-two years of age, heavily built and lethargic, and prematurely old in appearance. By temperament he was wholly unfit for the great heat incurred in the bush in the month of July; enervated thereby, it is no wonder failure was a result. He had already expressed himself unfit for American service, and eagerly looked for his recall."³

From these descriptions it is plain that Abercrombie's greatest fault was in being over fifty, in having allowed himself to put on flesh, and in being a good liver.⁴ None of these are strictly military faults, however. Compare our own General Shafter in the Spanish-American War, said to have been carried in a litter, but who had San Juan Hill, El Caney, and the Cuban Campaign, to his credit as the commanding officer.⁵

¹ Major William Wood's *Fight for Canada*, (London 1904), pp. 144-145.

² Diary of William Parkman, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (1879-1880), XVII, p. 243.

³ Hart's *Fall of New France*, (Montreal 1888), p. 88.

⁴ General Abercrombie, however, was still "winning in Albany as the records complain, when a change of ministry gave a new impetus to affairs." Mary Gay Humphrey's *Catherine Schuyler*, (N. Y. 1897), p. 55.

⁵ To the average man of 50, who feels his life work only half done, and himself fully qualified to finish and carry out the designs on the trestle-board, the age argument is puerile and nonsensical. Imagine our great financiers and captains of industry meeting with a set-back, and being scored in the press for the failure because they were too old for the game. Not to cite instances of competence of elderly men in our Civil War, let us consider the cases of our own successful generals competing with Great Britain and other

Answering the second and third criticisms, the official reports show that Abercrombie was informed, by his engineers and some officers, that the defences of the French were of such a nature as to be easily forced.¹ Such being the case, and the assault having been begun, for the very reasons stated by Mrs. Grant, the general would never admit that such an attack would possibly fail. As to bringing up the cannon, an attempt was made to use them, or at least the guns on the rafts. But a well directed fire from the fort sunk some of the boats and compelled a rapid retreat.² Several unsuccessful flank movements were made during the affair, and one French authority differs from the rest in denying the practicability of breaking through Montcalm's defenses. "As the men had to go down into a small gorge or hollow, so that the columns were forced in toward each other, making it necessary for them to avoid exposing themselves to a cross flanking fire." He also says of the boat incident, "thirty barges sent by Abercrombie to break up the French flank were dispersed by the cannon from the fort which sank two of them, while an assault on the others from the bank by a few men caused them to retreat."³

Judging by the average American or British writer's treatment the reader would never know that Abercrombie had even attempted such a manoeuvre.

A note to the original *Mémoires* of M. Pouchot says: "Some writers of that nation (English) have accused General Abercrombie of having failed in his duty, in not advancing his artillery with which to destroy the intrenchments of the French. This is all wrong, as cannon could have but slight impression upon works of this kind, as the late affair at Savannah is conclusive proof."⁴ An powers. Such as Andrew Jackson, who was 48 at New Orleans; Zachary Taylor, 62 in the Mexican War, and "old fuss and feathers," General Winfield Scott, who won his greatest victories in Mexico, at 61. In the Spanish-American war, the naval heroes Admirals Dewey and Schley were respectively 61 and 59. Generals Shafter and Lawton at San Juan and El Caney were 63 and 55. In the South African war, Christian De Wet, one of the greatest of the Boer generals, was 49, while the conquering generals, Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener, were 68 and 52.

¹ *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, pp. 725, 734-735. J. W. Fortescue's *Hist. of British Army*, (London 1899), II, p. 331.

² *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, pp. 723, 735-736, 749.

³ *Garneau's Hist. of Canada*, (Bell ed. Montreal 1866), I, p. 538.

⁴ Pouchot's *Mémoires*, I, p. 120. Compare also Jackson's successful fight at New Orleans behind his flimsy entrenchments. *Lossing's War of 1812*, p. 1035.

English authority says: "That the enemy were so well covered that they could with the greatest deliberation direct their fire without the least danger to themselves."¹

Fiske compares the battle of Ticonderoga with the affairs of Bunker Hill and New Orleans. "The brother of the young general slain at Ticonderoga, preferred to assault entrenchments and suffered accordingly. So, too, at New Orleans, where the English General might have flanked General Jackson instead of attacking the entrenchments." With regard to Abercrombie, "he seems to have been influenced by undue haste."²

Mante speaks of the various opinions of the engineers, "who with some of the principal officers tried to get information; some pronounced the breastwork a well finished work, amongst them the chief engineer treated it as a flimsy construction, only strong in appearance. The General unfortunately accepted this view."³

As a matter of fact Ticonderoga was a very much over-estimated military position. Montcalm was on the point of abandoning it and retiring to Crown Point, and when persuaded by his officers to make a stand, the present "Lines" were decided upon, rather than a position nearer the fort. M. Pouchot gives the following counsel to Montcalm: "Sir, your intrenchments are proof against a hand assault, they can be held, and you have great hope of standing the shock. If they do not do it today, they cannot within two or three days, because they must open roads to bring up their artillery."⁴ Owing to the nature of the ground, flanking attacks were impracticable, and as has been said before, the French being on the defensive easily repulsed those that were attempted.⁵ One of Montcalm's engineers informed him of the possibility of the English putting cannon on the hill afterwards known as Mount Defiance, but he took the chance of its not being done, just as General St. Clair of the American forces took it in 1777, only to be outwitted by Burgoyne, who profited by Abercrombie's misjudgment and fortified it. The bitter criticism of St. Clair at the time can be read in any complete history of the Revolution, and still he was

¹ Wynnes' *Gen. Hist. of British Empire*, (London 1770) II, p. 86.

² John Fiske's *New France and New England*, (Boston 1902), IX, pp. 317-325.

³ Thomas Mante's *Hist. of Late War in N. A.*, (London 1772), p. 147.

⁴ Pouchot's *Memoirs*, I, pp. 115-116.

⁵ *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X., p. 743.

acquitted by a competent military court martial, for a much more serious fault than that of Abercrombie, in 1758. Dr. Thacher says: "This mount it is said ought long since to have been fortified by our army, but its extreme difficulty of access and the want of
 * * * men, are the reasons assigned for its being neglected." Major General Heath in his "Memoirs" says: "This steep and rugged hill was thought to be inaccessible by the Americans, at least with artillery."¹

Mrs. Grant states that the Schuylers regarded this expedition "with a mixture of doubt and misery, knowing too well from the sad retrospect of former failures, how little valor and discipline availed where regular troops had to encounter with unseen foes, and with difficulties arising from the nature of the ground, for which military science afforded no remedy. Of General Abercrombie's worth and valor they had the highest opinion; but they had no opinion of attacking an enemy so subtle and experienced on their own ground, in entrenchments, and this they feared he would have the temerity to attempt."²

As to remaining in his tent, the place for a commanding officer unless leading a forlorn hope as Montcalm supposed he was doing, is in the rear, and not at the front. There was no need of special attention or of further orders.³ It was a case where a small force was to be crushed by much larger one, and the men must be sacrificed, just as Grant sacrificed them at the Battle of the Wilderness, gaining all sorts of epithets thereby, from his enemies.

It does not appear anywhere, nor is it claimed by his critics that the regular and usual preliminaries were omitted by Abercrombie, dispirited though he was over the death of Lord Howe. He had proper entrenchments thrown up at the Mills to protect a retreat if necessary, his dispositions were tactical, and his attack planned in due form according to the information he had.

¹ Dr. James Thacher's *American Revolution* (N. Y. 1860), p. 82. Major Gen. Heath's *Memoirs*, (N. Y. 1904), p. 131.

² *Memoirs of an American Lady*, p. 178.

³ Major Rogers states, on what authority is not known, "this attack was begun before the general intended it should be. And as it were by accident from the fire of the New Yorkers on the left wing. Upon which Colonel Haviland being in or near the center, ordered the troops to advance." Rogers' *Journals* (London 1765), p. 116.

The attack was remarkable for two things. It was the first and most important engagement in colonial warfare up to the time, fought exclusively between white men.¹

Then, very few colonials were used on either side, the New York troops being an exception, and suffering a greater loss in proportion, than some of the regulars and most of the provincials.² Those of the colonial troops not in the combat, fired at long range and in an undisciplined way, killing many of the British, it is claimed, thus adding to the terrors of the affair, and helping to promote the panic which followed.³ This according to an officer, was "one of those strange and dreadful scenes to break an officer's heart."⁴ It has often been compared to Bull Run. One of the fairest and best accounts of the attack and retreat the writer has seen, appears in Kingsford's "History of Canada," and would be critics of Abercrombie, are advised to read this work, written from a different, excellent and just point of view, before passing final judgment upon the man.⁵

The criticism made of Abercrombie for ordering his cannon sent away may be better answered by a contemporary, the Rev. Daniel Shute, a chaplain in one of the provincial regiments, who says under date of July 9:⁶ "The Army returned to W Henry unpursued by Y^e Enemy. So many regular officers were slain in Battle a Council of War, it seems could not be held on that side of the Lake. It is here confidently reported that two 24^{lb} Cannon were ordered by an express from sd Gen^l, too this side from the lake to Fort Edward, and ordinance stores from Albany stoped on road. *Consummate Prudence; if y^e French should beat our army from y^e Lake, y^e Cannon would help them make a vigorous stand at Fort Edward, and if obliged to abandon that; warlike stores would be necessary at Albany* * * * "

July 10 * * * Hear y^e 2 Cannon were bro't back no farther, than y^e half way Brook."

Abercrombie's ordering a retreat was not only good generalship but the only thing to do. To have stayed at Ticonderoga and

¹ John S. Nicolay in *The Chautauquan*, (May 1892), XV, p. 145.

² *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, p. 731, vide list of officers killed.

³ Thomas Hutchinson's *History Province Massachusetts Bay*, (London 1828), III, p. 73.

⁴ J. W. Fortescue's *History of British Army*, (London 1899), p. 331.

⁵ Kingsford's *History of Canada*, IV, pp. 161-176.

⁶ Daniel Shute's Journal, *Hist. Col. Essex Inst.*, (April 1874), XII, p. 138.

beseiged it, would have been madness. Would-be military critics very generally overlook the fact that Montcalm had "two openings out of the bag." Only three years before Dieskau had invaded the colony, by way of Champlain, Wood Creek and the war-path from what is now Whitehall to Fort Edward. That path was still open to the southward, and DeLevis with 3,000 men was expected. Unless Abercrombie, defeated, could get to the head first, DeLevis might by a side march easily capture the English position. This would be the natural conclusion, and the natural action at the time.¹ The fact that DeLevis had already arrived at Ticonderoga, bringing only a few hundred men, which was not known to Abercrombie at the time of the retreat, nor when he despatched Bradstreet to Fontenac, charging him to "Watch the Motions of Mor. de Levy and prevent his advancing and penetrating towards the Oneida Carrying Place," does not alter the case. There was but one thing for the general to do and he did it—return to the head.²

Abercrombie's retreat to the head of the lake, his erection there of fortifications against an expected attack of the enemy, the drill and military operations to get the troops into shape, marred somewhat by the constant desertion of the New England men, the details of regiments and men to protect the frontiers from the incursions of the French after the Half-way Brook and Putnam affairs, the building of a sloop and boats to guard the lake, were all excellent military measures.³ As Kingsford says: "Whatever

¹ Mante speaks of the first flight being stopped at the saw-mills, where a rally took place. Abercrombie's order to march to the landing place renewed the panic. Col. Bradstreet's work in preventing the soldiers from overloading the boats prevented the death of many of them. "This prudent behavior of the Colonels having afforded the General time to restore a little order, the troops kept their ground that night." (p. 149). He says further: "The prodigious preparations against Ticonderoga were carried on by two or three gentlemen, subordinate in command; but men in whose military abilities, resolution, and activity the army justly confided. When Lord Howe was killed, a kind of despondency ensued; and the manner in which the attack of that place was conducted, too plainly proved, that there existed sufficient grounds for such despondency. All, however, that courage could, was done. Although the English were beaten off by a number greatly inferior, they lost not a jot of honour by their retreat. (p. 159.)"

² Gertrude Selwyn Kimball's *Correspondence of William Pitt*, (N. Y. 1906), pp. 301-302.

³ For incidents connected with the encampment at the head of the lake, consult the various diaries, letters and journals mentioned herein. See also our *Transactions*, VI, pp. 169-189.

the first fault of Abercrombie, after the repulse he acted with judgment, and his conduct is beyond reproach."

The Earl of Bute addressed Pitt as follows:¹ "The general and the troops have done their duty, and appear, by the number lost, to have fought with the greatest intrepidity; to have tried all that men could do to force their way. The commander seems broken-hearted with being forced to retreat."

While Grenville wrote him * * * The great number of officers and men in the regular troops killed and wounded, and particularly the loss we have sustained in the death of Lord Howe, are circumstances that would cloud a victory, and must therefore aggravate our concern for a repulse. * * * But to do justice to so many brave men as have fallen upon this occasion, the officers and troops of that army seem to have been animated with a zeal and spirit that requires no additional incitement.²

It is only fair and just to compare here what was accomplished by Abercrombie with the achievements of the other leaders in the Campaign of 1758. To General Forbes afflicted with a mortal disease, sick every minute of the time and carried in a litter as the troops marched along, "iron-headed" and unwilling to take advice from Washington or other colonials, due credit for the capture of Fort DuQuesne must be given. Although as commander-in-chief he must be blamed for the avoidable wiping out of Major Grant's detachment by the French and Indians. But why he should have taken from July to November to march through the present state of Pennsylvania, building unnecessary roads when the Braddock road could have been used, and then attack a fort which he knew through the report of deserters from the French, to have been practically abandoned, has never been explained, (although often attempted,) with complete satisfaction to enquiring minds.³

Nor was Amherst's conduct at Louisburgh, without fault. A number of days were wasted ostensibly waiting for suitable weather

¹ Cor. William Pitt Earl of Chatham, (London 1838), I, p. 335.

² Id. p. 339.

³ Hildreth's *Hist. of U. S.* (N. Y. 1877), II, p. 484. *Gentleman's Magazine*, (London 1759), pp. 171-174. Fortescue, II, p. 335. Smollett's *England*, — (Forbes left Philadelphia early in July and reached Fort DuQuesne Nov. 25). II, pp. 292-293. Bradley's *Fight with France for North America*, (N. Y. n.d.), pp. 267-287. *Complete History of the War*, (Dublin 1766), pp. 125-126.

and a quiet sea, and when the attack was finally made and the landing effected, it was through the zeal and eagerness of several subaltern officers and their crews, who landed without orders, compelling General Wolfe to follow them immediately to protect their landing.¹

In fact, both Forbes' and Amherst's expeditions, when carefully analyzed, were successful through flukes, rather than from any superior military skill or planning of the individual leaders. As a matter of fact, Amherst as a general was no better than, nor as good as, Abercrombie. His Campaign of 1759, in which he wasted several hundred thousand pounds sterling, in the attempted construction of useless, uncompleted and unneeded forts on Lake George and Champlain, and in carefully delaying his advance while Wolfe waited for him in vain, being finally forced to attack Quebec alone, except for the assistance of the fleet,² shows him to have been possessed of a cautiousness to call it by no other name, which but few of his worst enemies attributed in connection with Ticonderoga to Abercrombie.³

To Abercrombie's credit must be placed, too, the permission to Bradstreet to attempt the reduction of Fort Frontenac, and supplying him with troops to do it with. It was the capture of this fort which opened the way to General Forbes for the taking of DuQuesne, and by destroying an enemy's base, made Amherst's bloodless victory at Ticonderoga a possibility, in the following year, 1759.

Called brave and prudent by those who knew him well, a capable officer after the first great blunder of listening to young and inexperienced staff-officers, one of whom (Clerk the engineer) paid for his mistake with his life, his faults overlooked and his merits rewarded by his king, no one can justly or properly say that James Abercrombie's report as to Lord Howe and the disposition of his remains, are not credible, or in any way successfully impeach him as a competent and sufficient witness, in the matter of that nobleman's interment.

¹ Bradley, pp. 221-222. *Complete Hist. of the War*, pp. 95-96. Trumbull's *Hist. of U. S.* (Boston 1810), I, p. 377. Smollett says "Amherst approached Louisburgh with great circumspection, building redoubts, etc." *Hist. England* II, p. 281.

² Bradley, p. 311. Trumbull, p. 399, *Hist. of the War*, p. 198.

³ If Admiral Sampson was entitled to credit for the victory of Santiago Bay in 1898, when miles away from the conflict, as certain New England politicians and some naval bureaucrats have tried to make out, certainly Abercrombie is entitled to all the credit for Frontenac, for he had to order the attack there, and furnish the force to subdue it.

APPENDIX VI.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1758.

For the purpose of affording all possible aid to any historical student who may care, at some future time, to investigate the Campaign of 1758, the accompanying list, comprising many of the volumes and articles examined by the writer, is submitted as a partial and rough bibliography of the period.

The principal source books for the average investigator are of course, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Volume X; Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Volume V; and the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1905, Volume II.

In the former volume, the following references are to be consulted:

Howe, How, Haw, (Daw, Dawh), Geo. Augustus, 3rd. Viscount. — *Killed at Ticonderoga*, pp. 724-727, 730, 738, 741, 744, 749, 797, 809, 816, 847-848, 895, 921. *Biog.* p. 735. *No. men under his command*, p. 892. *Official despatches and documents relating to the military operations before Ticonderoga*, pp. 721-725. *List of officers killed and wounded*, pp. 728-732. *Another account of the operations at Ticonderoga* (translated from a French letter in *Penn. Arch.* III, p. 472), pp. 734-736. *Montcalm's report*, pp. 737-744. *Letter M. Doreil*, pp. 744-751. *Howe skirmish described*, pp. 747, 845. *Letter and dispatch M. Doreil*, pp. 752-756. *Reasons why Montcalm did not follow Abercrombie and attack him at Fort William Henry*, pp. 757-761. *Comments on Montcalm's retreat from the landing place*, pp. 781-798. *Montcalm's observations on Vaudreuil's letter*, pp. 800-805. *Letter M. Daine, Lord Howe skirmish*, p. 814.

In Winsor, see for *Campaign*, pp. 520-527. For *Special Works*, pp. 596-603. For *General Works*, pp. 615-621. For *Cartography and Depiction*, pp. 522-526, 536-537, 557, 614. As Winsor, however, only covers authorities published to 1887, a few later works of possible importance may be found in Hart's *The American Nation*, (New York, 1905), VII, pp. 296-305.

In *The Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1905, II, is an exhaustive *Bibliography* of the Publications, Pro-

ceedings and Transactions of the various Historical Societies and Associations of the United States and Canada to that time. On pp. 1124 and 1291 of the Index, are references particularly relating to this campaign, while others may be found under the proper headings of the various publications.

A. CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS.

Among the principal contemporary accounts are the following, the *Boquet Papers* being in mss. as well as the *Partridge* and *Williams* letters, but all the rest having been published as stated.

A Dialogue In Hades (Between Montcalm & Wolfe) Attributed to Chevalier Johnstone, Published by *Literary & Historical Society of Quebec* (ed. 1887), pp. 20-39.

Bouquet Papers, London Museum, *Add. Mss.* Extract of Letter from Genl Stanwix, Albany, 9th July, 1758, 21,640, p. 77. Extract of Letter from Govr. DeLancey to Gov. Denny, N. Y., 12th July, (Received at Carlisle, Pa., July 15, at night). Id. Extract Letter Col. G. Washington to Col. Boquet, Camp at Fort Cumberland, 21st July, 1758, *Add. Mss.* 21,641, p. 17. Id. Two Letters from Alex. Colden, N. Y., July 17th, 1758, with description of Lord Howe's death and battle, *Add. Mss.* 21,640, p. 151 and 21,643, p. 154. *Penna. Archives*, Phila., (1853), III. Letter from Gov. Colden, same date, pp. 479-480.

Boquet Papers, Extract from letters Gen'l Jo. Forbes to Col. Boquet, *Add. Mss.* 21,640, pp. 93, 94a, relating to Howe's death, Genl Stanwix letter, &c.

Miss Rowena Buell's *Memoirs of Rufus Putnam*, (Boston, 1903), pp. 23-25.

Journal of Rev. John Cleaveland, *Hist. Col., Essex Inst.*, Part III, (July, 1874), pp. 183-186.

E. C. Dawes' edition, *Journal General Rufus Putnam*, (Albany, 1886), p. 68.

Diary Capt. Asa Foster, 1758, *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, (1900), LIV, p. 184.

Journal of Col. Archelaus Fuller of Middleton, Mass., 1758. *Hist. Col. Essex Inst.*, (July, 1910), pp. 213-214.

Mrs. Grant's *Memoirs of an American Lady*, (New York, 1846), Chap. XI, pp. 175-183. Id. (Albany, 1876), pp. 227-231.

Extract *Capt. Holmes Journal*, in Abiel Holmes' *American Annals*, II, pp. 523-524.

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B. LOCAL HISTORY.

The Campaign of 1758, is very thoroughly treated in most of the local histories of this section of the state. A great many of these books however are out of print, scarce and "happy should he be, who has his book-case full of them." The list is as complete as possible;—in it have been included a number of Guide Books, which are of interest to the special student:

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E. POETRY OF THE CAMPAIGN.

Unlike most of the stirring events of history, the French and Indian War raised up no Epic poet to sing its triumphs and record its failures in measured verse. I have discovered so far only two contemporary poems, two which had their inspiration a century or so later on the honored soil of Old Ticonderoga, one of intermediate date and one of very recent publication.

In the *Essays, Humor and Poems* of Nathaniel Ames, with notes and comments by Sam. Briggs, (Cleveland, 1891), the Almanack for 1758 has this curious prophecy for July, p. 281:

AND now,

'Twixt Host and Host, but narrow space is left,
A dreadful interval! and Front to Front
Presented, stand in terrible Array
Of hideous length———dire is the Noise
Of Conflict.———

The death of Lord Howe is noted in a Poem on the Chronology of the War, pp. 339-342, under date of July 5, 1758.

Since noble *Howe* lay prostrate on the Ground,
And the Whole Armies Soul fled thro' his Wound.

The *London Magazine* for 1759, has the following, which was copied in Dawson's *Historical Magazine*, (for March, 1861), p. 61. It purports to have been written "By a Lady in America."

On The Defeat at Ticonderoga or Carilong.

"Neglected long had been my useless lyre,
And heartfelt grief repress the poet's fire;

But rous'd by dire alarms of wasting war,
Again, O muse, the solemn dirge prepare,
And join the widow's, orphan's, parent's tear.
Unwept, unsung shall Britian's chiefs remain;
Doomed in this stranger clime to bleed in vain!
Here a last refuge hapless Braddock found,
When the grim savage gave the deadly wound:
Ah! hide Monongahel thy hateful head
(Still as thy waves roll near the injured dead)
On whose gore-moistened banks the Num'rous slain,
Now spring in vegetative life again,
Whilst their wan ghosts as night's dark gloom prevail
Murmur to whistling winds the mournful tale;
Cease, cease, ye grisley forms, nor wail the past
Lo! A new scene of death exceeds the last;
Th' empurpled fields of Carilong survey
Rich with the spoils of one disastrous day!
Bold to the charge the ready vet'ran stood
And thrice repell'd, as oft the fight renewed,
Till (life's warm current drain'd) they sunk in blood.
Uncheck'd their ardor, unallay'd their fire,
See Beaver, Proby, Rutherford, expire;
Silent Britannia's tardy thunder lay
While clouds of Gallick smoke obscur'd the day.
Th' intrepid race nursed on the mountain's brow
O'er-leap the mound, and dare th' astonished foe;
Whilst Albion's sons (mow'd down in ranks) bemoan
Their much loved country's wrongs nor feel their own;
Chearless they hear the drum discordant beat—
And with slow motion sullenly retreat.
But where wert thou, oh! first in martial fame,
Whose early cares distinguish'd praises claim,
Who ev'ry welcome toil didst gladly share
And taught th' enervate warrior want to bear.
Illustrious Howe! whose ev'ry deed confest
The patriot wish that Fill'd thy generous breast;
Alas! too swift' t' explore the hostile land,
Thou dy'dst sad victim to an ambush band,

Nor e'er this hour of wild confusion view'd
 Like Braddock, falling in the pathless wood;
 Still near the spot where thy pale corpse is laid,
 May the fresh laurel spread its amplest shade;
 Still may thy name be utter'd with a sigh,
 And the big drop swell ev'ry grateful eye;
 Oh! would each leader who deplores thy fate
 Thy zeal and active virtues emulate,
 Soon should proud Carilong be humbled low
 Nor Montcalm's self, prevent th' avenging blow."

In *The Wars of America, or a General History*, by A Revolutionary Soldier, (Baltimore, 1839), occurs this extract:

Campaign of 1758.

The enterprise against Crown Point,
 To Abercrombie was assigned.
 Ticonderoga, the main complaint
 Of Indian haunts and French combined.
 Lord Howe, young, able, noble, bold,
 Accomplished, to perform his task,
 Under 'Crombie to unfold,
 The tragedy that future masked.
 With seventeen thousand soldiers brave,
 Courageous veterans, famed in war,
 Fronting all danger to the grave,
 The musket, sword, and cannons' roar.

Attack on Ticonderoga.

Arriving near Ticonderoga,
 Mars, meets our heroes on the plain,
 Skirmish ensued, the passing road
 Sorely beset, Lord Howe is slain.
 The British saw, their leader fall;
 With Spartan bravery charged the foe,
 Havoc, slaughter, powder and ball,
 Cover the field with sickening woe.
 Three hundred victims slaughtered lay,
 Bleeding and gasping, on the ground;
 The blood of Howe avenged—the day

Thus reader! worth and mortal life
Must bow, in battle's dreadful field;
Lord Howe, the brave, immortal strife,
Lost all his earthly—dead and sealed.
Records the battle's awful sound.
We mourn his fate, his virtues dear;
'Tis all that memory, now can give;
A sigh, a tributary tear,
While his immortal only lives.

In the verse of that gifted son of Ticonderoga, the Hon. Clayton H. DeLano's *Centennial Poem*, (1864, as reprinted by the Ticonderoga Historical Society in 1909), on p. 6, is this stanza:

VI

Just by the brook near yon eventful shade
Where foaming water forms a wild cascade
Where ivy's clustering tendrills twine
Round the gnarled oak and scraggy stunted pine

• • • • •

Here, once a forest waved, by that run
Gleamed glistening bayonets in the noon-day sun.
Here foe met foe; here flashed the burnished steel
As rank on rank now charge or backward reel.
While crackling rifles drown'd the noisy flood
And robed the scene in anguish and in blood.
The Britons conquered, yet no cheer was heard
The deepest feeling every bosom stirred.
That night they slept, not on the victor's bed
They could not sleep—the gallant Howe was dead.

That eloquent orator and master of English prose or verse, Dr. Joseph Cook, refers thus to this incident in his Poem, *Ticonderoga and Montcalm*, in *Harper's Monthly*, (August, 1875), p. 369:

VII.

Abercrombie answereth Montcalm,
Strikes across the crystal lakelet
When the summer fills the mountains.
England's arm hath brawny muscles;
See a thousand flashing barges,

And the blue-coats and the red-coats,
And the tartans from Loch Lomand,
And the sunlight on the forests,
And the mirrored oaks and maples,
Breathing beeches, silver birches,
Giant pines on mighty summits,
Iris sheen and iris sparkles,
And the sword glare in the waters;
Hear the pibroch from Loch Katrine,
And the neighing of the horses,
And the crackle of the armor,
And the clashing of the oar-locks,
And the sigh of harping islets,
And the pebbly fret of white strands,
And the dewy drip of bird songs,
And the echoing of the bugles.
Nine blue thousands are Provincials,
Bred with panthers and the eagles,
Men who smoothed a New World's rough face,
And the cradle of its future
Rocked beneath its singing pine-trees,
Putnam, Rogers and his rangers;
Six red thousands British soldiers,
Burnt by suns beyond the salt seas,
Scarred in Fontenoy and Black Watch,
Led by Howe, who on his bear-skin
Couched last night and talked of triumph,
But who goes to God tomorrow.
From the giant tangled dark woods
On the Trout Brook, at the ambush
Wet with mist of roaring cascades,
Floateth up his strong white spirit.
See one lonely barge returning
Where a thousand spanned the clear depths,
Threads the islands with his pall,
Bears an army's heart beneath it.
In the Abbey of Westminster
Wrote his name young Massachusetts,
Carved the word Ticonderoga
On the proud and pallid marbles.

In Percy MacKay's Poems (N. Y., 1909), occurs "*Ticonderoga*," read at the 300th Anniversary of Discovery of Lake Champlain at Fort Ticonderoga, July, 1909. Death of Lord Howe is treated on pp. 6-9; the battle, pp. 9-12.

QUI VIVE! Their muskets flare the wood;
FRANCAIS! Their wild cheers start;
Lord Howe is dropt down where he stood,
A hot ball through his heart.
They drive them back, they drown their boast
In blood and the rushing river,
But the heart of Abercromby's host—
The Lord of Hosts deliver!

* * * * *

The soul of Abercromby's host
Follows Lord Howe—his shining ghost;
On stormy ridge and parapet
It rides in flame, it leads them yet;
Smiling, with wistful image wan,
A dead man leads the dying on.
And Campbell, Laird of Inverawe,
Hath met the doom his dream foresaw;
Pierced by his murdered kinsman's eyes,
His clansmen bear him where he dies.
Lord Howe, Lord Howe, why shouldst thou fall!
Thy life it was the life of all;
Thy death ten thousand hath undone.
England hath sunken with the sun.
Ticonderoga's lost and won!

F. MAPS AND DEPICTION.

Fred W. Lucas, *Appendiculæ Historicae*, (London, 1896). A Topographical Map of Hudson River, with the Channels, depth of water, rocks, shoals, &c., and the County adjacent, from Sandy Hook, New York and Bay to Fort Edward, also the communication with Canada by LAKE GEORGE AND LAKE CHAMPLAIN, as high as Fort Chambly on Sorel River. By Claude Joseph Sauthier, on the Original Scale of Four Miles to One Inch. Engraved

by William Faden, successor to the late Mr. Jeffreys, Geographer to the King, Charing Cross. Published according to Act of Parliament, Oct. 1st, 1776, by Wm. Faden, Corner of St. Martins Lane, Charing Cross, London; p. 104.

A Map—Reduced from Capt. Holland's map of the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, published 1775, in Jeffrey's American Atlas. (Mr. Bond on his Map of Hudson River places this Lake about 16 leag^s higher), p. 120.

A Map reduced from a Map dated 1774, in Jeffrey's American Atlas, p. 114. None of these maps show Trout Brook named. Also refers to other maps pp. 172, 173, 174, 175.

Anderson-Flick, *History State of New York*, (1902), map of *French and Indian War*, p. 55.

George Bancroft, *History of the United States*, (Boston, 1852), IV; shows map of the locality of the fight to face p. 305.

Katherine Schuyler Baxter, *A Godchild of Washington*, (1897). An unusual picture of Lord Howe to face p. 46.

W. F. Beers, map of Lake George and vicinity, (N. Y., 1876). Shows locality.

A. J. Bradley, *The Fight With France For North America*, (New York, n. d.) Topographical maps to face title page and to face p. 238.

Bryant & Gay, *History of the United States*, (New York, 1879), III. Cut of the Field of Abercrombie's Defeat, p. 299. Cut of "Fort Ti." p. 302.

Catalogue of maps and Surveys, in the offices of the Secretary of State, &c., (Albany, 1859), p. 153, office vol. XVIII. Map of two tracts of land, surveyed for JOHN STOUGHTON, late Lieut. in one of His Majesty's independent companies on foot; situate and lying in the County of Albany, July 4, 1764; Alex'r Colden, Surveyor-General; (Ticonderoga, Essex County). Map of 2,000 acres of land on the west side of the water running from Lake George to Lake Champlain, in the County of Albany; surveyed for JOHN KENNEDY, late Lieutenant in His Majesty's Sixtieth Regiment on Foot.; Alex'r Colden, Surveyor-General; Aug. 1, 1764 (Ticonderoga, Essex County).

Documentary History of New York, (Albany, 1849), I. Sauthier map on large scale, to face p. 774.

Timothy Dwight, LL. D., *Travels*, (London, 1823), III, map of New York showing Lake George and Lake Champlain to face title page.

Rev. John Entick, *General History of the Late War*, (London, 1765), picture of Lord Howe to face p. 209.

John Fiske, *New France and New England*, (Boston, 1902), IX. Map of Lake George, p. 313. Picture of Montcalm, p. 356.

Map *Forest, Fish and Game Commission State of New York*, (1900), shows accurate topography of the region.

Hon. J. W. Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, (London, 1899), copies Meyer's map, p. 338.

John Frost, *Remarkable Events in the History of America*, (Philadelphia, 1848), I, picture of the Earl of Chatham, William Pitt p. 626. Picture Gen. Abercrombie's army crossing the lake, p. 631. Ruins of Fort Ticonderoga, p. 633.

F. X. Garneau, *History of Canada* (Montreal, 1866), I, map of Canada, Lake George-Champlain Region at back of book.

Gentleman's Magazine for 1757, XXVII, map of "the Country back of Albany drawn in 1756 shows Fort Edward, Fort William Henry, Lake George, Ticonderoga, Crown Point or Fort Frederick, Lake Champlain," etc., to face p. 74. Id. for 1758, XXVIII, maps. Id. for 1759, XXIX, Map of country between Crown Point and Fort Edward, showing route of Dieskau, Halfway Brook, etc., location of Ticonderoga showing Trout Brook, but without name. Id. for 1760, XXX, map to illustrate General Amherst's Expedition to Montreal showing the Hudson, Lake George, Ticonderoga, Lake Champlain, etc., to face p. 460.

Glens Falls Insurance Company's *Calendar* for 1904, picture *Embarkation of Abercrombie's Expedition*. Id. 1910, *Black Watch at Ticonderoga*, both with historical sketch. Latter shows, on reverse side, Duncan Campbell's grave stone.

Walford Davis Green, M. P., *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, (New York, 1901). Map of French Forts in America 1750-1760 from Montcalm & Wolfe showing Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Lake Champlain and Lake George to face p. 116. Picture of William Pitt to face p. 94; picture of Montcalm to face p. 114; picture of Earl of Chatham to face p. 286; statue of Earl of Chatham to face title page.

Harper's *Monthly Magazine*, cuts of Fort Ticonderoga and vicinity, VII, pp. 168-170; LI, pp. 369-370, LIX, p. 335.

A. B. Hart, *The American Nation*, (New York, 1905), VII, picture of William Pitt to face title page. Map Lakes George and Champlain, p. 204.

J. T. Headley, *Washington and His Generals*, (New York, 1847), I, picture of Putnam to face p. 92; picture of Stark to face p. 200; picture of Schuyler to face p. 229.

William Kingsford, *History of Canada*, (London, 1890), IV, map of region to face p. 183.

Lake George maps rare, loaned by S. R. Stoddard. Map of Lake George, Miller's Lith., 142 Broadway, (N. Y., n. d.) Shows region, gives good description of Lake George and its historic spots, shows Dieskau's route, also the route taken by Abercrombie.

Topographical sketch of Lake George, by Aug. F. Dolson, (artotype, N. Y., 1855). Shows all the islands and points on the lake. Only four hotels, one new one and four old ones then on the lake, viz., Lake House, new Fort William, unnamed then, United States (Crosby's), Mohican House, Gale's and Garfield's. Unique. Shows Trout Brook and "Fort Ti."

Maps in Library of Congress.—a. Project for the attack on Ticonderoga proposed to be put in execution as near as the circumstances and ground will admit of. May 29th, 1759. W. B. delt. ms. col. 15x12 (Faden Coll., no. 24). b. Ticonderoga as it was in 1759. Ms. tracing, anon. 5x6 n. d. c. View of the lines and fort of Ticonderoga taken from a hill on the side of South Bay in 1759. ms. anon. 8x12 1-2, 1759. d. Rocque's "Set of Plans and Forts in America" gives only the plans and no maps of the surrounding country.

B. J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*, (New York, 1851), I, cut of the battlefield, p. 116. Cut of the Fort, p. 116.

Thomas Mante, *History of the Late War in North America*, (London, 1772). Map showing the Attack of Ticonderoga (which is the one usually seen and which has been reproduced so many times) to face p. 144.

Military Journals of Two Private Soldiers, 1758-1775, (Poughkeepsie, 1855). Cut of Ruins of "Fort Ti." to face title page.

Joel Munsell, *Annals of Albany*, VIII, *Map of Albany*, 1764, showing St. Peter's Church to face title page. Id. I, *John Bogert's Survey of State Street*, 1792, showing the church opposite what is now Chapel Street, in the center of State, p. 311.

New England Magazine, (July, 1899), *Lake Champlain Historical and Picturesque*—cuts and description of Ticonderoga, pp. 585-587. Id. (April, 1901), Perry's *Ticonderoga* with photographs of all principal points, pp. 120-127.

N. Y. Col. Doc. X, Attack of Abercrombie, map to face p. 726.

Id. Map—*Sketch from Original in the Archives at Paris*, Vol. 3498, p. 144. *Frontiers Du Lac St. Sacrement*, 1758. 8 Julliet—shows the country from Fort Ticonderoga toward Lake George and Albany. Trout Brook laid down as the R. Bernetz, to face p. 721.

N. Y. S. Ed. Dept. (Division of Visual Instruction) *American History to 1763*, Slides and Photographs, Pamph., pp. 122-126.

Maps in New York State Library.—a. Attack on Ticonderoga. In Mante, Thomas, History of the late war in North America, (London, 1772). b. Plan of the country from the Landing Place with the encampments and marches of the troops under Maj. Gen. Abercrombie at the attack of Ticonderoga. T. Phinn. sc. In *Scot's Magazine*, (1758). c. Country between Crown Point and Albany being the great Pass from the English to the French settlements in North America. T. Phinn. sc. In *Scots Magazine*, XX (1758). d. Survey of Lake Champlain including Lake George, Crown Point, &c., surveyed by order of Maj. Gen. Amherst by William Brassier, (1762). In *American Military Pocket atlas*. Printed for Sayer & Bennet, London. e. Id. in Jeffreys, Thomas, *American Atlas*, London, 1776. f. *Frontiers du lac St. Sacrement*, 1758, accompanying the *Memoir on Fort Carillon* by M. de Pont le Roy. In *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, X, p. 720. g. Plan of Lake George and the country adjacent, (1758). In *New York State Library, Maps IV*, p. 20. (Mentioned in A. W. Holden's *History of Queensbury*, p. 302). h. Plan of the town and fort of Carillon at Ticonderoga with the attack made by the British army—1758, Thomas Jeffreys. In *New York State Library, Maps X*, p. 18. i. Map of Lake Champlain, Lake George, Fort Frederic, &c., from the French Manuscripts, (1760?). In *New York State Library Maps IV*, p. 88.

Peter S. Palmer, *History of Lake Champlain*, (Albany, 1866), Plan of Fort Carillon, p. 85. Plan of Abercrombie's Attack, p. 78.

Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Frontenac ed., Boston, 1899), II, map of Sketch of the country round Tyconderoga, by E. E. Meyer of ye 60th Regt, to face p. 301.

Anon.—*Putnam's Monthly* (August, 1857), wood cuts of Ticonderoga and surroundings, pp. 157-161.

Frederick Remington, *Harper's Monthly*, (November, 1897), picture *Storming of Ticonderoga*, p. 885.

Report of State Historian for 1896, II, "*Plan of Town and Fort of Carillon*, July 8, 1758, to face p. 370. Map *Hudson River to Canada*, to face page 437; *Fort Ticonderoga Looking Southeast*, to face p. 588; *Ruins Fort Ticonderoga*, to face p. 660.

H. B. Smith, *History of Essex County*, (Syracuse, 1885), cut of John Trumbull's plan of Ticonderoga, p. 86.

Id. *History of Warren County*, (Syracuse, 1885), map of outlet from Butler's Lake George and Lake Champlain, p. 103.

Zadock Thompson, *Civil History of Vermont*, Part II, map of region to face title page. Also see his *Guide to Lake George, Lake Champlain, &c.*, (1845).

Winslow C. Watson, *Military and Civil History of the County of Essex*, (Albany, 1869), map of Ticonderoga and its forts, Lake George and Lake Champlain to face title page.

Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History* (1887), V, maps pp. 524-526.

J. Wright, *Complete History of Late War or Annual Register*, (4th ed., Dublin, 1766). Map to face p. 124 showing march of troops.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

A list of references examined for the writer by the Reference Department of the State Library, the State Historian, or others, treating of the campaign.

Army Lists for 1757, 1758.

Chalmer's *History Revolt of American Colonies*, (Boston, 1845), II.

Chatham Correspondence, I, p. 335.

C. F. Gordon-Cumming in *Atlantic Monthly*, (Sept., 1884).

John Dobson's *Chronological Annals of the War*, (Oxford, 1773).

Dilworth's *History of the Present War*, (London, 1760).

W. C. Ford, *British Officers Serving in America*, 1754-1774.

Grenville Correspondence, I, p. 261, etc.

List of Officers and Soldiers Killed and Wounded in Attack on Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758, from papers Richard Peters, Secy. of the Governor of Penn. in Mass. Hist. Soc. Library.

MacLachlan's *Highlands*, (1875), II, p. 340.

Mortimer's *History of England*, III, p. 605.

New England Hist. and Gen. Register, 1862., Id. (1883), p. 21.

Description of "Fort Ti."

Newcastle's *English Weekly Chronicle* sup., (Jan. 2, 1892), quoted in *Dictionary National Biography*, III, sup.

Review of Pitt's Administration, (London, 1763), (2nd Ed.)

Stewart's *Sketches of the Highlanders*, II, p. 61.

Universal History, XI, pp. 219-220.

United Service Magazine (London, 1817), I, p. 128.

APPENDIX VII.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

These scattering notes, while not exactly pertinent to the article, have seemed, nevertheless to be of enough cognate importance to warrant their insertion here.

Quartermaster General John Bradstreet was born about 1711, in Lincolnshire, England. Received his first commission in 1735 and had an important part in the Siege of Louisburgh in 1745. Served with Braddock in 1755, and in 1756 provisioned and relieved an English garrison at Oswego, and in 1758 was made deputy quartermaster general with Abercrombie's army.

Through his exertions, and those of Phillip Schuyler, whom he had induced to act as his assistant, the transportation of the supplies and equipment of this great army, and its embarkation and journey to the foot of the lake, were accomplished without con-

fusion, delay or accident. It was also due to Bradstreet's ability and resolution, as well as good management, that the retreat of the army back to the head, was managed in a way to avoid disaster and further loss. How he wrung from a council of war at the English fort (it being impossible to hold one at Ticonderoga, after the battle owing to the fearful mortality among the officers there), consent for a dash to Oswego, his forced march and great triumph over the enemy, are well known incidents of the campaign. His "force consisted of 135 regulars, 1112 provincials from New York, 412 from New Jersey, 675 from Massachusetts and 318 from Rhode Island; with 300 batteau men, in all 2952 men. (Mante, p. 152, quoted in Hough's Pouchot, I, p. 124). Bradstreet's capture of Frontenac, destruction of the French marine on Lake Ontario, the fortifications, merchandise, stores and munitions of war, and removal of artillery, &c., not only checked the enemy, but paved the way for the capture several months later of Fort Du Quesne by Gen. Forbes. (Pouchot, I, 224-225). Bradstreet was a great friend of the Schuylers, General Schuyler being made one of his executors, when he died in 1774. (*Godchild of Washington*, New York, 1897, pp. 28-35; *Dawson's Historical Magazine*, January, 1871, p. 48).

John Stanwix, Lieutenant General, who ordered Lord Howe's body buried in Albany, was born about 1690 in England, and died at sea in the fall of 1766. His uncle was a distinguished soldier and the nephew followed in his footsteps. He gained his captaincy in 1739 and was promoted rapidly until in January, 1756, he was made colonel commandant of the first battalion Royal Americans. He was commissioned brigadier general in December, 1757. General Stanwix came to Albany in 1758 and later was ordered to the Oneida Carrying Place, where a fortification was built, afterwards called Fort Stanwix in his honor. We find a letter from General Abercrombie to General Stanwix at the time stating that he hears Stanwix has been obliged to encamp at Schenectady "owing to the shallowness of the Muhawk river." In 1759 General Stanwix repaired and fortified the old Fort DuQuesne then renamed Fort Pittsburg. He returned to England in August, 1760, was given high military honors, held various important offices and was lost at sea with his wife and daughter while on his way to London to at-

tend parliament Oct. 29, 1766. (*Dictionary of Natl. Biography*, LIV, pp. 86-87).

Rufus Putnam began his military service in 1757, as a private soldier, in Captain Ebenezer Learned's company. In 1759 he was an orderly sergeant, and in 1760 an ensign. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was made lieutenant colonel chief engineer of the army, then colonel, and finally in 1783 was appointed brigadier general, after serving with distinction through the Revolutionary War. His Journal and Memoirs have been noted elsewhere in this article. General Putnam is also known as the "Father of Ohio," having been one of the first settlers of that territory. (*Harper's Monthly*, LXXI, p. 552. *Ohio Arch. & Hist. Soc. Quarterly* (October, 1910) XIX, pp. 398-401).

Nathaniel Woodhull, b. 1722, d. 1776, served with Abercrombie at Ticonderoga, and accompanied Bradstreet to Frontenac. President of Provincial Congress in 1775, and again in 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was accepted. Was commissioned a brigadier general and received a mortal wound in a skirmish at Jamaica, L. I., 1776. (Subject of sketch and picture on *Calendar Title Guarantee and Trust Co.*, of New York, for 1911. *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VIII, p. 295-296.)

A portrait of Artemas Ward, afterward a major general of the Revolutionary War, who was with General Abercrombie in 1758, appears in the *Journal of American History* (N. Y., 1910), IV, p. 560. General Ward was the first commander-in-chief of the patriot army preceding General Washington. (Sketch id. pp. 562-567).

Marinus Willet, afterwards colonel, was at the battle and went with Bradstreet to Frontenac. (Reid's *Old Fort Johnson*, p. 127).

The Battle of Bunker Hill found opposed to each other on the side of the Colonials, Putnam, Stark, and Pomeroy and many other men who had fought at Lake George or Ticonderoga, and on the side of the English, General Gage (at this time, 1758, colonel), and Lt. Col. James Abercrombie said to have been a son of General James Abercrombie, and who served as an aide to Amherst in 1759. (*Harper's Encyc. U. S. Hist.*, Vol. I, vide "Abercromby.") In the following year he gained his majority

in the 78th or second Highland Battalion, and was the bearer of the surrender conditions to Gov. de Vaudreuil and secured his signature to the document, (*N. Y. Col. Doc.* VII, p. 160). In 1770, after being out of the army for a time, he entered active service again, as lieutenant colonel of the 22nd Regt., then serving in America, under Lieut. Gen. Gage, and received mortal wounds at the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17th, 1775. As he was being taken from the field he begged his men not to kill his old friend Putnam. (*Drake's Old Landmarks and Historic Fields of Middlesex*, p. 73).

"In 1758 the Expedition under Abercrombie and Lord Howe was undertaken against that place [Ticonderoga], ending in the defeat of the English and the Death of Lord Howe an event consecrated in the Colonial Annals. It was on this occasion that ["Goose"] Van Scaick being close to Lord Howe when he fell, was himself wounded in the Face by the butt end of a Musket clubbed by a French Soldier, a wound which led to a cancerous disease, of which after a long career of honourable service, he died." As Col. Van Scaick he served prominently through the Revolutionary War. Especially in 1777. (*Orderly Book at Ticonderoga*, Albany, 1859, Munsell's, p. 68—Note Gosen Van Scaick.)

At a conference had by General Howe with Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and Edward Rutledge on Staten Island, W. L. Stone says: "After this Lord Howe opened the conference. He expressed his attachment to America and his gratitude for the honors bestowed upon his elder brother, who, was killed at Lake George in the expedition against the French, eighteen years before, declaring that should America fall he should feel and lament it like the loss of a brother. Franklin bowed, and, smiling blandly, replied, "My lord, we will use our utmost endeavors to spare you that mortification," (*Revolutionary Letters*, William L. Stone, 1891, Munsell's, pp 204-205. See also Wharton's *Dip. Cor. of the Am. Rev.*, II, p. 141.)

The following extracts are taken from the Pennsylvania Archives:

July 14th Wm. Till of Newcastle writes to Richard Peters in Phila. "Yours, giving an account that matters are not very favourable with our army before Ticonderoga, gives me great concern," p. 475. July 15th Arch. Kennedy, of New York, writes to

Andrew Elliot, merchant, Phila. "You have heard or will soon hear of our defeat before Carillon with the loss of at least a thousand men and many officers, in which our friend the major, I am afraid, is included, p. 477. July 17th, Kennedy to Gov. Denny. "The army has met with a severe repulse with the loss of about 1000 men and many of our best officers. They are again encamped at the south end of the lake still in good spirits, and we are in hopes of a second attempt with better success, p. 479. July 20th James Young writes to R. Peters. "We are all here [Carlisle] strangely alarmed with the imperfect accounts of our army to the northward, not knowing if the acets we have be only the consequence of the first attact when Lord Howe was killed, or if a second battle. If the genl. has particulars, we are apprehensive they are very bad as nothing transpires; the officers seems a good deal cast down, but endeavor to keep all from the men." Various letters speak of the secrecy on part of the officers so the men would not get discouraged. Also of the difficulty in getting the recruits in shape, pp. 483-486, 488-489. James Young to R. Peters, July 23rd, hope "the Virginians will not succeed in getting the rout by Fort Cumberland," p. 489. (From *Penn. Arch.*, III.)

Capt. Ichabod Goodwin, of Colonel Jedediah Preble's Regiment of Provincials, was wounded and had special mention by Abercrombie. (*Historical Magazine*, October, 1868, p. 164. *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, p. 731. *Report Maine Society of Colonial Wars*, Portland, 1905, pp. 130-131).

The Rev. Ebenezer Cleaveland was chaplain of Colonel Jedediah Preble's regiment, but it is his brother John who was chaplain of the Third Regiment and who wrote the Diary mentioned herein.

It is stated that the encampment of Abercrombie's forces at Albany, which brought there thousands of the provincial forces, caused the writing of one of our national airs. The provincials from their gawkiness, general unkempt appearance, lack of uniforms and military clothing, strange accoutrements and want of discipline were a source of infinite amusement to the trig regulars. A Doctor Shuckburgh is said to have composed the words of Yankee Doodle fitting it to an old English tune. How the English played it in derision of the continentals, and how the latter returned the

compliment during the Revolutionary War are well known incidents. Dr. Shuckburgh was surgeon in Capt. Horatio Gates' Independent Company of New York. (Joel Munsell, *Annals of Albany*, 1850, II, p. 228. E. B. O. C. in Dawson's *Historical Magazine*, (Oct., 1857), p. 314.) [For later authority on this subject see report of Oscar G. T. Sonneck, Chief Division of Music, Library of Congress, Government Printing Office, 1909. Noted in *Am. Hist. Review*, April, 1910, pp. 625-626.]

Another authority, however says:

Colonel Thomas Fitch who commanded four New England regiments in this war, was the son of General Thomas Fitch, Governor of Connecticut. It is said "it was in derision of Colonel Fitch's forces the now famous Yankee Doodle was composed and sung." Those regiments performed their full share in the attack on Fort Ticonderoga, and suffered a greater loss, in proportion to their numbers, than the British Army." (Dawson's *Historical Magazine*, 1871, p. 215).

In 1758, a post (rider on horseback) was established between Albany and Boston. (*Mrs. Bonney's Legacy of Historical Gleanings*, I, p. 21). The day after the battle "on the next day, those most dangerously wounded were sent forward in boats and reached the Flats before evening" (id. p. 22).

APPENDIX VIII.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

For books, mss., information, assistance or other valuable aid in the preparation of this paper, the writer desires to extend his grateful thanks and acknowledgements to S. H. P. Pell and Hon. Howland Pell, of Ticonderoga and New York; the New York State Library at Albany, and especially to Miss Charlotte VanPeyma and the Reference Department therein; to the Librarian of Congress at Washington and the Chiefs of the Divisions of Maps and Charts and Bibliography of the Congressional Library; to Williams College Library, Williamstown, Mass.; Crandall Free Library, Glens

Falls; Victor H. Paltsits, State Historian and his assistant, Richard H. Day; State Archivist A. J. F. vanLaer and his assistant, Peter Nelson; Dr. Sherman Williams, Glens Falls; Dr. Samuel A. Green and James H. Tuttle, Mass. Hist. Society, Boston, Mass.; Rev. Joseph Hooper, Durham, Conn.; Lord Arthur Browne, London, Eng.; Hon. Vice Admiral Sir Assheton G. Curzon-Howe, Portsmouth, Eng.; Miss Ethel M. Lomas, Miss Lena Diver, Mrs. Sophia C. Lomas, expert copyists, London, Eng.; Rev. W. W. Battershall, Albany; Albert C. Bates, Librarian Connecticut Hist. Society, Hartford, Conn.; C. J. Brigham, Lib. Am. Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.; H. L. Bridgman, Brooklyn Standard Union; R. J. Brown, Bolton; Dr. W. A. E. Cummings, Ticonderoga; Dr. John M. Clark, Director Science Division, Albany; George Francis Dow, Sec. Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.; Geo. H. Evans, Librarian Woburn Public Library, Woburn, Mass.; A. A. Heard, Gen. Pass. Agt. D. & H., Albany; Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Hudson Falls; M. E. Johnson, N. J. Hist. Society, Newark, N. J.; Adjutant General's Office, State of New Jersey; Robert H. Kelby, N. Y. Hist. Soc.; Hon. W. M. Olin, Sec. Commonwealth of Mass., Boston; Mrs. H. L. P. Rice, Albany; Col. W. S. Schuyler, U. S. A.; Frederick B. Richards, Glens Falls; S. R. Stoddard, Glens Falls; C. A. West, Lake George, and to anyone else whose name may have been inadvertently omitted, who has aided the writer in any way to look at this mooted question from a new view point.

LORD HOWE.

BY FRANK B. WICKES, Ticonderoga, N. Y.

At the time of Abercromby's expedition against Ticonderoga, Lord Howe was thirty-three years old. He was like Milton's *Michael*, whose "starry helm unbuckled, showed him prime in manhood, where youth ends."

If only I had the privilege, the reach, and skill to unbuckle for you this hero soldier's "starry helm," and show him as he was! As it is, the best that I can do is to give you only a few glimpses and snapshots of one of the most attractive personalities of that great period,—the period of colonization that followed the period of discovery, when the effect of the finding of America on the minds of European men in the direction of expansion, inspiration, adventure and activity was not yet spent; when France and England were contending with each other for the first place so long occupied by Spain; when the control and possession of North American was the problem of the statesmen and the work of the soldiers and colonists of those two great rival nations—one of the most attractive personalities of that marvelous eighteenth century.

No biography of Lord Howe seems ever to have been written; but the diaries, journals, letters, military reports and newspapers of that time are penetrated by his reflection. As well as we can, in these fragmentary dusty mirrors, we must see what manner of man he was.

This is the way he looked to his English contemporaries:

Said Abercromby:

"As he was very deservedly universally beloved and respected throughout the whole army, it was easy to conceive the grief and consternation his untimely fall occasioned; for my part, I can not help owning that I felt it most heavily and lamented him as sincerely."

Said Oliver Goldsmith, writing five years after the death of Lord Howe:

"He was the Scipio of his age and country, formed for all that was amiable in society and great in war. He had the spirit to adapt himself to the service he was engaged in, discouraging and difficult as it was, by retrenching in his own person every encumbrance that could arise from his rank, either as a nobleman or an officer, even to the cutting off of his hair. The common soldier saw him fare like himself, nor did he seem to affect the least pre-eminence, but in his forwardness to encounter danger and endure fatigue, so that he appeared to be rather imitated than obeyed by all under his command."

Thomas Mante, historian of the war, called him the soul of Abercromby's army. He said that his enterprising spirit infused a noble ardor into every rank.

An Albany correspondent of the London Daily Advertiser, writing under date of July 15, 1758, says of him, among other things, that he was temperate, modest and active, and did his business without noise."

Wolfe, the hero of Quebec, called him "That great man," and said further:

"The noblest Englishman that has appeared in my time and the best soldier in the British Army."

Said William Pitt:

"A character of ancient times; a complete model of military virtue."

This is what the Colonial officers thought of him:

Said Robert Rogers, the Ranger, writing in April, 1758:

"Upon my return from the late unfortunate scout I was ordered to Albany to recruit my companies, where I met with a very friendly reception from my Lord Howe, who advanced me cash to recruit the Rangers, and gave me leave to wait upon General Abercromby at New York, who had now succeeded my Lord Loudon, in the chief command."

And on his return from New York, again Rogers wrote in his Journal:

"I left New York April 8th, and according to orders attended Lord Howe at Albany for his directions on the 12th, with whom I had a most agreeable interview and a long conversation concerning the methods of distressing the enemy and prosecuting the war

with vigor the ensuing campaign. I parted with him having the strongest assurances of his friendship and influence upon my behalf, to wait upon Col. Grant, commanding officer at Fort Edward, to assist him in conducting the Rangers and scouting parties in such a manner as might best serve the common cause, having a letter from Lord Howe to him."

Said Rufus Putnam, cousin of Israel Putnam, in his Journal kept during the Abercromby campaign, referring to the skirmish in which Lord Howe was killed:

"We lost but few men, but among them a brave and bold commander—that worthy man, my Lord Howe, who is lamented by us all, and whose death calls for our vengeance."

Said Dr. Caleb Rea, a Massachusetts surgeon in Abercromby's army:

"My Lord Howe, who behaved exceeding well in ye front of ye battle, was killed, and most lamented, being a very active pleasant man."

John Stark also always spoke of Lord Howe in the highest terms, but after the Revolutionary War broke out, he used to say that he was more reconciled to the death of Lord Howe because, if he had lived, his great ability would have been used against America.

It is probable that if he had lived, Lord Howe would have been placed in command of the English forces in America in the time of the Revolution. Who knows how many more royalists there might have been if he had been here? Who knows how many mistakes of British officers would never have been made? Who knows but this forceful, fascinating man, loyal to his king, and, at the same time, holding in his grip the affections of the people of the colonies, might have stood in the way of the independence of our country? If so, it was a beneficent providence that laid him in his forest grave in the unabated strength and the unfaded charm of his early manhood.

It is a curious fact that Lord Howe, the probable commander of the English armies, and Joseph Warren, who was killed at Bunker Hill, who would most likely have had Washington's place if he had lived, should both have been removed, as if the hand of God were making room for itself in history.

Here are a few characteristic things that Lord Howe did:

It was the fashion then for gentlemen to wear long hair, tied behind with ribbons, and young men paid much attention to this part of their toilet. Lord Howe, whose hair was fine, handsome and abundant, cropped it short for this campaign. He discarded the uniform of a brigadier general and wore a short, common soldier's ammunition coat, with ranger's leggins. He washed his own shirt in the forest brook, and wore his coat without a shirt under it until his shirt was dry and he could put it on again. He ate corn meal and pork, the ration of the common soldier. He carried a knife and fork in a sheath, and presented his officers with an outfit like his own. And the only furniture of his tent was a blanket and a bearskin.

He reached this country in the summer of 1757, and spent the next year in Boston, New York, Albany and other parts of the country, making the acquaintance of the people and studying the adaptation of the art of war to the conditions and circumstances under which he found it must be practiced on this continent. He was especially interested in the methods of the Rangers, and sought instruction from Rogers, Stark and Putnam. It is said on the authority of what appears to have been a tradition in the family of John Stark, that he went on a scout with some of the Rangers, and that they took him to the top of Mt. Defiance in Ticonderoga, and that he called attention at that time to the fact that this eminence commanded the fort, and that a few pieces of artillery here would do the business.

About the middle of June, 1758, on Lord Howe's arrival at Fort Edward, he sent Rogers with fifty of his Rangers, in five whale boats through Lake George to the neighborhood of Ticonderoga, to quote the language of Rogers in his Journal, "to take a plan of the landing place at the north end with all possible accuracy, and also of the ground from the landing place to the French Fort at Carillon, and of Lake Champlain for three miles beyond it, and to discover the enemy's number in that quarter." Rogers accomplished this with complete success and later wrote in his Journal "on the 20th. at Halfway Brook, we met my Lord Howe, advanced with three thousand men, to whom I gave the account of my scout, together with a plan of the landing place, the Fort at Carillon and the situation of the lakes."

So Lord Howe was in possession of the fullest information as to the lay of the ground about Ticonderoga.

His recorded utterances are very few; but here is something that he said, once upon occasion, in view of the jealousy that existed between the British regulars and the Colonial troops, and the contempt with which the British officers were disposed to treat those who did not belong to the regular army:

“Knowledge and respect for the varied manners and opinions of others will harmonize our great army and will make it invincible. Any gentleman officer will find his equal in every regiment of the Americans. I know them well. Beware how you underestimate their abilities and feelings, civil, social and military.”

Here is one of the secrets of his power: He saw the great truth, concealed always from the eyes of little men, that every human being that we meet, whatever his social or intellectual rank, knows more about something than we do, and his usefulness to us depends upon our ability to avail ourselves of that superior knowledge or skill.

Then, there was another thing about Lord Howe. It is the supreme act of organizing constructive genius to harness conflicting forces, and make them pull together. So, fire and water are made to work together to carry this vessel on its way. So Henry of Navarre welded the energy of Catholic and Huguenot for the glory of France. So Bismark built the German Empire. So Abraham Lincoln brought this nation through in the crisis of the Civil War. This faculty seems to have been one of the gifts of Lord Howe. He took that army of Abercromby, cloven in twain as it was by the jealousy and ill feeling between regulars and colonials, and he made of it one army with one spirit and one purpose.

Such was the man; such was the soldier, who stood on the beach at the head of Lake George before sunrise on the morning of the 5th of July, 1758, the real leader of the great expedition, which, on account of its disastrous and uncalled for result, is very properly called Abercromby's.

Nine hundred batteaux, one hundred thirty-five whaleboats and many rafts for the transportation of the baggage and artillery, all propelled by oars, and carrying between fifteen and sixteen thousand men, started down the lake. The weather was somewhat

cloudy, reducing to grey the blue of the sky and water; but the mountains stood close and lifted the horizon high. The forest primeval was unbroken from water's edge to sky line, except for here and there a glimpsing cliff and the unsubduable face of Rogers Rock. The green of June was still unsullied; and the wooded islands furnished to the scene that gentle interruption which was the perfection of its harmony and nature's final touch of beauty.

The great flotilla spread over the water and filled six miles of the Narrows. The flags, British and Colonial, the dress of the Scotch soldiers, and of the English red coats and Jersey blues, gave to the thronging boatloads of men the gleam and glow of picturesque color. The music of the Highland bagpipes seemed native to the place, and in connection with the scenery made the Black Watch think of their "ain countree."

And so advanced the new world's greatest army yet, with Rogers and Putnam and Stark and Bradstreet and Murray and Howe for its executive men. At dusk the boats were run upon the beach at Sabbath Day Point and the army disembarked to rest and eat, and wait several hours for the rafts which had been left behind, to come up. Here Lord Howe spread his bear skin on the ground and sent for John Stark to talk over with him the best way to approach the French fortress.

It is an interesting illustration of the discernment of Lord Howe and his judgment of men, that, out of all that army, he should have selected Stark for this purpose. Stark appears to have been the most level-headed man among them. After Lord Howe was dead, when Abercromby was trying to make up his mind what to do, when he was considering the question of ordering the assault on the works of Montcalm, Captain Stark told him better than to do it. The result vindicated the judgment of Stark and the judgment of Lord Howe in choosing him for his chief adviser.

At midnight they were on their way again, and when sunrise touched the face of Rogers Rock it showed to the scouts and pickets of Montcalm what the night had brought them—a lakeful of their enemy.

I do not need to describe in detail and in the order of time the military movements that followed. You are familiar with the facts of the reconnoitre of the landing place by Howe and Rogers and Bradstreet; of the landing of the army in the cove and all along the shore; of the retirement of the French from the outposts at the head of the portage, after destroying the bridge at that place, and of the advance of the English army into the woods on the west side of the outlet, with Lord Howe at the head of the right centre column. You have read the story of his sudden fall at Israel Putnam's side, and you can never forget that exchange of sentiment between Putnam and Howe in the presence of the danger that brought him death. They heard shooting in the woods at the left of them. Said Howe, "Putnam, what does that firing mean?" "I do not know," said Putnam, "but with your lordship's leave, I will see." "I will go with you," said Howe. Then Putnam said, "My Lord, if I am killed, the loss of my life will be of little consequence; but yours is of infinite importance to this army." Then came the answer: "Putnam, your life is as dear to you as mine is to me, and I am determined to go." And so he went and so he died.

Now, there are two questions about Lord Howe that it is interesting historical work to try to answer. These questions are: Just where was he killed, and where was he buried? The limits of my time here do not allow me to discuss them both, and so I will take the one that seems to be of the most interest at the present moment. Where was he buried?

What is the evidence on this point? Leaving out of view the unverified conclusions of many historical writers, let us examine the original sources and traditions. Of these so far discovered, that I know of, there are ten.

1st. Although last discovered, a letter written by Gen. Abercromby to William Pitt from the head of Lake George, on the 12th of July, 1758. The material paragraph of this letter reads as follows:

"I caused his" (Lord Howe's) "body to be taken off the field of battle, and sent to Albany, with a design to have had it embalmed and sent home if his lordship's relations had approved of

it; but the weather being very hot, Brigr. Stanwix was obliged to order it to be buried."

2nd. The Diary of Surgeon Caleb Rea, a Colonial officer, who accompanied the Abereromby expedition to Ticonderoga and wrote under date of July 6, 1758, the day Lord Howe was killed:

"Lord Howe was brought in and embalmed."

3rd. The Diary of Lieut. Samuel Thompson of Woborn, Massachusetts, a soldier in the French War during the year 1758. An entry in this diary under date of July.8, 1758, the day of the assault on Carillon, apparently written at Fort William Henry, is as follows:

"Saturday. Post came from the Narrows, and they brought Lord Howe to ye Fort, who was slain at their landing, and in ye afternoon there came in 100 and odd men, French prisoners into the Fort."

4th. A letter from a gentleman in Albany to a friend in Boston, published in the Boston News Letter of July 13, 1758, and in Boston Gazette of July 17, 1758. This letter contains the following sentence:

"The body of Rt. Hon. George Viscounte Howe was brought to Albany last Monday.."

5th. This entry in the Treasurer's book of St. Peter's Church at Albany under date of September 5, 1758:

"To cash rt for ground to lay the Body of Lord how & Pall 5[6]0."

6th. The Schuyler tradition represented by the statement by Philip Schuyler to Chancellor Kent that Schuyler was appointed to convey the body of Lord Howe to Albany; by the statement of Mrs. Cochran, Philip Schuyler's daughter, to Benson J. Losing, that when, many years afterwards, the coffin was opened at Albany, his hair had grown to long flowing locks and it was very beautiful; and by Mrs. Grant's "Memoirs," in which she says: "A few days after Lord Howe's departure in the afternoon, a man was seen coming from the north galloping violently without a hat. Pedrom, Mrs. Schuyler's brother, ran instantly to inquire the cause. The man galloped on, crying 'Lord Howe was killed.'"

7th. The Lord Howe stone unearthed with the remains of a coffin and the bones of a man at Ticonderoga in October, 1889, and

now preserved in the Black Watch Memorial Library at that place. This stone bears the following inscription:

“Mem of
Lo Howe
Killed
Trout
Brook.”

8th. The tradition of the Peterson family of Ticonderoga, which is to the effect that an ancestor of theirs, who was one of Rogers Rangers, lettered a stone for the grave of Lord Howe, and that he was buried on a hill at Ticonderoga.

9th. The Scotch tradition preserved in an account of the vision of Duncan Campbell of Inverawe by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, who said of Lord Howe “that he had so acquired the esteem and affection of the soldiers that they assembled in groups around the hurried grave to which his venerated remains were consigned, and wept over it in deep and silent grief. * * * And then returned to the landing place, which they reached early in the morning.”

10th. The tradition of the Howe family. This tradition is to the effect that Sir William Howe, a brother of George Augustus Howe, and a colonel in the British army which participated in the Battle of Quebec, after peace was declared, went to New York by way of Ticonderoga and Albany, trying to find the remains of his brother to take them to England, and that he failed to find them.

This, then, is a case of conflicting evidence, and the first question is: Is there any theory on which the whole or most of it can be reconciled? There is such a theory and I will state it. When Lord Howe was killed, it was the intention of General Abercromby to have the body transported to Albany and there buried at least temporarily, pending instructions from his relations in England. He issued orders to that effect, sent a messenger to Albany with the news of the death and to make arrangements for the reception and burial of the body, and arranged for the transportation of the body through Lake George. These orders and preparations were known to the army, but the weather being very hot, it was found that it was not practicable to carry out these orders and the body was buried at Ticonderoga in the night in a grave that was care-

fully concealed and without the knowledge of most of the army, and those that did know it were instructed to keep it secret.

Now, let us examine the evidence piece by piece and see if this theory is not substantial. Let us examine first the testimony of Abercromby. I wish he were here to be cross examined. He says, "I caused his body to be taken off the field of battle and sent to Albany with a design to have had it embalmed and sent home if his lordship's relations had approved of it, but the weather being very hot Brigadier Stanwix was obliged to order it to be buried."

Where was General Stanwix? If he accompanied General Abercromby's expedition and was at Ticonderoga, then this statement can be interpreted to mean that Lord Howe was buried here. If General Stanwix did not accompany the expedition and remained at Albany, then General Abercromby intended to be understood that the body was buried at Albany. Although I have had the courteous assistance of the State Historian, Mr. Paltsits, I have been unable to ascertain with certainty where General Stanwix was at the time of Lord Howe's death, but it appears that six days afterwards on the 12th day of July, he was in Albany and wrote a letter to Lieutenant Governor DeLancey, telling him about Abercromby's defeat and retreat. It does not appear from the notice of this letter in the calendar of English manuscripts in the New York State Library that it makes any mention of the burial of Lord Howe, but the letter itself is missing from the files. So far as the evidence goes, it tends to indicate that General Stanwix was not with Abercrombie at Ticonderoga, and until further light on this point, I think we must assume this to be the fact.

Assuming then that General Abercromby meant to say that the body of Lord Howe went to Albany and was buried there, the next question is: What is the credibility of General Abercromby as a witness, and did he have any motive to misrepresent the facts? Who was General Abercromby? He was the commanding general, who, after the death of Lord Howe, sent a courier from company to company to say in the hearing of all his fifteen thousand men that Louisburg was taken by the English, which was a lie, told for the sole purpose of animating the soldiers before the assault on Carillon and offsetting, as far as possible, the effect on them of Lord Howe's death. Abercromby was the commanding general,

who, when his faithful soldiers in obedience to his own fool order, were immolating themselves on the bloody points of Montcalm's abattis, was keeping himself safe a mile and a half away at the entrance to the military road that had been made out of the old Indian carry, where he could transfer himself to the landing on Lake George in a hurry if he needed to. General Abercromby might perhaps have been a soldier himself "if it had not been for the vile guns."

This was the commanding general in whose craven soul originated the panic that turned the army that assaulted Carillon with incredible valor into a disorganized mass of fugitives, leaving their shoes in the mud, their dead unburied and many of their wounded comrades unhelpt behind them. This was the commanding general who had his aide-de-camp, James Cunningham, on the evening of the 8th of July, send a letter to Col. Cumming at Fort William Henry, directing him to forward the wounded and the heavy artillery to New York City as soon as possible. Abercromby thought that Montcalm was going to capture Fort William Henry, Fort Edward and Albany, and that the only safe place of refuge was New York City. This is the commanding general who, when there was not the slightest reason for it, when he had still left four times as many men as Montcalm and artillery at hand to demolish the fortress, ordered a retreat and took to his boats on Lake George, burning and destroying equipment and supplies and leaving behind two hundred barrels of flour intact for Montcalm's use. This was the commanding general, who, when he got safely to the upper end of Lake George, issued an order that any soldier should be punished who said anything about Louisburg, or told the truth about the English loss at Ticonderoga. This was the commanding general, who, notwithstanding what John Stark had told him, laid the blame of this disaster on his subordinate officers and said that he was misinformed about Montcalm's defenses.

So much for his credibility. Now, did he have any motive to falsify his report? Let us see. The Diary of Lieutenant Thompson is to the effect that the boat bringing the body of Lord Howe came through Lake George on the 8th of July, and no doubt that was the boat which was intended to carry it. What does this

mean? Why, it shows that General Abercromby left the body of Lord Howe at Ticonderoga in the sultry heat for two days or 36 hours at least before he was ready to start it for Albany. Lord Howe was instantly killed, a young man in the flush of vigorous health, and it is well known that in such a case decomposition advances much more rapidly than in the case of a person wasted by disease. There is little doubt that in the case of the body of Lord Howe, after the two days, decomposition was already observed and that it was apparent that the body could not then be taken to Albany. They, of course, had no ice, and the weather being very hot, the general was obliged to order it buried. But when Abercromby got to the head of Lake George and had time to think about it, he was afraid that Prime Minister Pitt, with whom Lord Howe was a favorite, if he found out about the two days delay, would think that the remains of Lord Howe had been neglected and not treated with proper respect, and General Abercromby thought that it would not make any difference then with the gallant Howe, but that it might make considerable difference with Abercromby. He felt that he had enough ignominy to bear without that, and that what the Premier did not know would not hurt him. General Abercromby had a motive to falsify his report and he was just the man to do it.

Furthermore, the statement of General Abercromby is incredible on its face. We know that he was untruthful and lacked courage, as cowards usually do. We know that he did not have the respect of his soldiers, and that he deserved the nickname that they gave him of "Old Aunt Nabby Cromby." We know that he was incompetent. But he was not an absolute idiot. General Abercromby had been for many years an officer in the English army. He had seen hundreds of men die in battle and he knew the effect of heat on their dead unburied bodies. It never was his plan, as his language would indicate, after the body of Lord Howe had been kept for two days without ice in excessive heat at Ticonderoga, to transfer it through Lake George, and then seventy miles through the woods to Albany, over such roads and with such means of transportation as they had then, and after it got to Albany have it embalmed and kept without interment for months until the news of Lord Howe's death could be carried to England by one of the slow

sailing vessels of that day, and instructions from his relations brought back. General Abercromby says: "The weather being very hot, General Stanwix was obliged to order the body to be buried." Unfortunately for the credibility of this statement, if it means that this burial was in Albany, the records show that from the 8th to the 12th of July, inclusive, while it is claimed that this body was *en route* from Ticonderoga to Albany, and when it arrived there and when it was buried, and up to the date of Abercromby's report, the weather was not very hot. During those days a cool wave was in progress, following the excessive heat of the time of Lord Howe's death. The 6th and 7th of July seem to have been extremely sultry, but Surgeon Rea, in his Diary under date of the 8th, says: "A clear day. Not very hot. Wind S. W.," and on the 9th, when Abercromby's army embarked for his return, the same diarist says that they "got ready at nine in ye morning and having a fine northerly breeze, we made sales of blankets and tents, and arrived at ye head of ye lake by 7 in ye evening." Under date of the 10th he says "Cool and rain at evening." Under date of the 12th. "A very cold, clear night."

There is another thing about that report which may be significant. Although it has been accessible to the public for many years in printed form when it was published, this paragraph about the burial of Lord Howe was suppressed, and it was in consequence of this that Prof. E. J. Owen, in his monograph on the burial of Lord Howe made the statement that the despatches of General Abercromby do not refer to it.

This report of General Abercromby, it appears, was supposed to be in triplicate. The original, duplicate and triplicate being sent by a different conveyance as such reports were often made when they were to be carried long distances with uncertain means of conveyance. I am informed that these three papers, each bearing Abercromby's own signature, are on file in the Public Record Office in London, but only one of them contains the paragraph about the burial of Lord Howe. Was this one sent to Prime Minister Pitt by a special messenger and intended only for his personal information, or did Abercromby prepare this one first and send it, keeping a copy, and then, with his usual vascillation, fearing that

he had made a mistake, leave this paragraph out of the duplicate and triplicate that were forwarded by other conveyances?

Next, the Diary of Surgeon Rea, in which he says, writing under date of the 6th of July, "Lord Howe was brought in and embalmed." The art of embalming bodies on the battlefield to be sent home was never much practiced before our Civil War. Embalming, as practiced by the English at the time of the French war, was an elaborate and complicated process, which doctors and surgeons generally did not undertake to practice. The embalming that was given to the body of Lord Howe must have consisted only in certain simple applications calculated to delay decomposition only for a short time. That this embalming was nothing effective is indicated by the fact that General Abercromby makes no mention of it whatever, but speaks only of the embalming that he designed to have the body receive at Albany.

Third, as to the Diary of Lieut. Thompson, who says that they brought Lord Howe to Fort William Henry on the 8th of July. It appears from this diary that the diarist was a young man twenty-six years old, and he does not seem to have a very accurate mind, because, although he was present at the embarking of Abercromby's army for Ticonderoga, he says that the number thereof was 25 thousand and 400 and odd men. He was only ten thousand out of the way. An examination of his diary for the two days immediately preceding this 8th of July, shows that he was very much occupied with his duties and could pay little attention to anything else. His entry for the 6th contains the following: "I was on guard all day. Sam'l Tay took a vomit and was ill with a bloody Flux, and I was full of business all day." Friday, the 7th, he says: "Abijah was sick and took a vomit. I had scarcely time to cook as the Hampshire forces came to us in the forenoon." Although, under a later date, the 10th, he says that in the morning he went and viewed the wounded men, he does not say in his entry of the 8th that he viewed the body of Lord Howe or recognized him. He was only a colonial officer of low rank, and if the body of Lord Howe had actually been there he would not have been invited by the English officers to inspect it. We know from other sources that after the death of Lord Howe the old troubles between the Colonials and the

Regulars broke out again, and the British officers made no concealment of their contempt for the Colonials. No doubt Samuel Thompson and the other soldiers at the head of the lake had heard the report of Lord Howe's death and that his body was to be carried to Albany. If a body was carried ashore from the boat that came through the lake that day, whether of Lord Howe or some wounded soldier that may have died on the way through the lake, it would be apt to be borne on a stretcher and covered with a blanket so that an outside observer would not know who it was; but it would be the most natural thing in the world, under the circumstances, for the soldiers of the camp to infer that it was the body of Lord Howe, and start the report that it was.

This testimony of Lieut. Thompson seems to be nothing but a bit of hearsay.

4th. The Albany letter to Boston, written between the 10th and the 13th of July, and containing this sentence: "The body of of Rt. Hon. George Viscomte Howe was brought to Albany last Monday."

The writer of this letter does not say that he attended the funeral or the burial or viewed the remains. No doubt it was reported in Albany that week that Lord Howe was dead; that his body was coming to Albany and that it was expected on the 10th and this would give rise without fail to the report that it had come to Albany. The writer of this letter was only repeating one of the rumors that filled the air at Albany in that time of excitement and alarm. This testimony is only some more hearsay.

5th. The entry in the Treasurer's book at St. Peter's Church. The page on which this entry is found in this old account book is headed: "What cash received," and contains two kinds of entries: One under the formula "To cash collected," under dates about a week apart, which are found upon investigation to be mostly Sundays. These entries undoubtedly represent the weekly collections at the church. The other class of entries are under the formula "To cash rt.," and seem to be receipts for burials. It has been suggested that the abbreviations "rt" stands for the word "returned" and that this entry about Lord Howe "To cash rt. for the ground to lay the body of Lord Howe and

pall, 5 pounds 6 shillings," means that this money was paid back by the church because Lord Howe was not actually buried there; but I think this interpretation is untenable because the same kind of entry occurs several times on the same page under different dates of that summer and fall, and it is not likely that the money would have been paid back in so many instances. The abbreviation "rt." no doubt does stand for the word "returned" and means cash paid to the sexton or somebody, of which return was afterwards made to the treasurer and the money paid over to him and the dates of the entries probably represent the dates of such return to the treasurer. This would account for the date September 5 being so long after the supposed burial of Lord Howe. This entry in the Church Treasurer's book has every appearance of being genuine and I assume that it is. This entry and the Lord Howe stone at Ticonderoga are the two most important and reliable pieces of evidence in this case. But this entry proves nothing except that preparations and arrangements were made for the burial of the body of Lord Howe at Albany. It falls far short of proving that his body was actually buried there.

6th. The Schuyler tradition. Philip Schuyler's statement to Chancellor Kent was simply that he was selected to accompany the body to Albany. Chancellor Kent does not say that Philip Schuyler told him that he actually did take the body to Albany. It appears that Chancellor Kent supposed that the body of Lord Howe was buried in Albany, but does not give us the details or circumstances of his conversation with Philip Schuyler. This also proves nothing but that preparations were made to take the body of Lord Howe to Albany.

Mrs. Cochran's statement that when the coffin was opened it was found that the hair had grown to long flowing locks and was very beautiful, is hardly worthy of serious consideration. In this age of general diffusion of scientific information, it is too late to make people believe that any part of a dead body can grow. If my recollection is correct, Mrs. Cochran, daughter of Philip Schuyler, was not born until long after the French war, and so she had no knowledge of her own about this matter.

Mrs. Grant's statement about the hatless messenger on horseback no doubt is a recital of a genuine incident and quite likely

he was the messenger that carried to Albany the news of Lord Howe's death, and the order to prepare for the reception and disposition of his body.

7th. The Lord Howe stone:

In October, 1889, a sewer was laid from the Central school building in the village of Ticonderoga northward through South Main Street. The ditch for this sewer was dug on the easterly side of this street between the sidewalk and the roadbed. The ground was stiff clay. It had never, to the knowledge of the residents of that locality, been disturbed before. It was so hard that it had to be dug up with a pick before it could be shoveled. At the depth of four feet or four and one half feet Peter DuShane, who had charge of the digging of this ditch, and was at work at it with his own hands, struck the remnants of a board, and upon further digging the remains of the sides and end pieces of a coffin were discovered with human bones inside of it. This body lay with its head to the west and the feet and legs under the sidewalk, nearly at right angles with the street. At the head outside of the coffin up against it and at the bottom of the grave were two stones, one of them a piece of graphite rock, that is, a stone full of graphite ore; the other, a hard irregular stone, smooth with rounded edges. The two stones were about the same size and neither was quite so large as a man's head.

DuShane was a laboring man who could neither read nor write; but he recognized the graphite in one of the stones and concluded to take it home with him, thinking it strange that it should be found in that place, there being no graphite in that immediate locality. The other stone, encrusted with clay, seemed to have nothing about it to attract attention and as it was thrown out of the ditch it rolled down the pile of loose earth that had been thrown out before it and lodged under the edge of the board sidewalk. Here it remained for a day or two until DuShane thought that it would be a proper thing to bury the bones again and put back with them the same two stones that he had found at the head of the coffin, and so he carried the second stone home and put it with the other. Immediately after this, he was talking about it with John C. Fenton, the town clerk of the town, who, with many

other citizens of the town, saw the bones and the remains of the coffin when they were taken out of the ground, and he asked DuShane to bring the stones to his office, which DuShane did. The second stone was still encrusted with the clay when Fenton took it in his hands. He scraped off some of the clay with his knife and thought he discovered the outlines of a letter. Whereupon they took the stone to the drug store of Patrick H. Barry close by and washed it under a faucet; but, even then, no inscription was legible. They saw, however, that on the surface of the stone there were some little holes that were still packed full of the hard clay. With the point of his pen knife Mr. Fenton dug the clay out of these holes and the inscription then appeared in five nearly parallel lines across the face of the stone:

“MEM OF
Lo HOWE
KILLED
TROUT
BROOK.”

The word “memory” is abbreviated to “Mem” without a period. The word “Lord” was abbreviated in one of the forms used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, both in England and America: Capital “L,” small “o.” The letters are formed apparently by the point of a bayonet or some sharp pointed instrument, hammered against the stone to make small holes or dots in lines for the shape of the letters, with some scratching or cutting to unite the dots in a few of the letters. So Mr. Fenton was the first man who read the inscription. The town clerk immediately called in the Supervisor of the town, Charles A. Stevens, and they both examined the stone and afterwards made affidavit that its present condition was the same, in every respect, as that in which they first saw it. Mr. Fenton was town clerk of the town for many years, and until his death some time after this. He was a lawyer who his neighbors said was too honest to be a lawyer, for he almost always got the suits of his clients settled without litigation. He was a man of strict integrity and of unquestionable veracity. Mr. E. M. Gifford in front of whose house the remains were found, sifted some of the dirt that came out of the grave and found one or two corroded buttons and a bul-

let. After the remains were taken out of the ground the town clerk, Mr. Fenton, took possession of them and kept them in his office in a box for some years, after which they were placed in a box and buried in the school house park, near where they were found at the foot of a large memorial boulder, placed there by Joseph Cook, and a number of the leading citizens of Ticonderoga signed a statement in regard to the discovery of the remains and vouching for the truth of the same.

The bones were incomplete, having the appearance of having been long buried, but the teeth were sound and unworn and evidently those of a youngish man. These remains and this marked stone were found under one of the principal streets of the Village of Ticonderoga in a place immediately adjacent to the grounds of the Central school building. The circumstances of their discovery and the character of the people connected with it preclude the theory of forgery and fraud. But unless this stone is a forgery it ends this discussion and settles this question for all time. No theory can account for that stone, except one or two. It either marks the veritable burial place of Lord Howe or it is a forgery. The critics of the Ticonderoga claim are absolutely shut up to the theory of forgery. They have no other ground to stand upon, and it is a ground that is absolutely untenable. They have as yet produced no evidence of such forgery, except the indirect evidence which has already been discussed in this paper. It is one on the strong proof of the genuineness of this Lord Howe Stone that full faith and credit was given to it at the time of its discovery by all the people of Ticonderoga who were well acquainted with the circumstances of its discovery and with the men connected with it. The officials and leading citizens of Ticonderoga were not frauds and forgers and the people of that town were not all dupes.

8th. The Peterson tradition:

The Peterson family has lived in the town of Ticonderoga for several generations. The story has been handed down in this family that their ancestor was one of Rogers' Rangers, and that upon the death of Lord Howe he lettered a stone for his grave and he was buried on a hill at Ticonderoga. The present representative of this family, Joseph Peterson, is now a man of 78 years old and there are people in Ticonderoga to-day who re-

member that he told this story years before the Lord Howe stone was discovered. Some years before the finding of this stone Joseph Cook erected a marble slab at the mouth of Trout Brook, commemorating the death of Lord Howe. At the time this was done, Joseph Peterson had a good natured dispute with Mr. Cook and told him that it would be more appropriate if he erected this memorial on the hill across the outlet, because it was there somewhere that Lord Howe was buried. Old records show that among the company of Rangers of whom Robert Rogers was the leader, there was a man by the name of Peterson. Mr. David Williams, of Rogers Rock, has the old account book of a sutler who furnished supplies to these rangers, and on one page of this book is an account with one Peterson, a carpenter.

9th. The Scotch Tradition that comes down to us with the story of Campbell of Inverawe. The part of this tradition which is to the effect that the burial took place late at night and the participants in the ceremony returned to the landing, which they reached early in the morning, is most significant. Taken in connection with the significant words of Abercromby about the hot weather and the necessity of burial, it indicates that a decision to bury Lord Howe at Ticonderoga was reached and carried out before daylight on the morning of the great battle, and when the boat spoken of by Lieutenant Thompson was leaving for Fort William Henry.

10th. Last of all, and certainly entitled to as much consideration as any other tradition, is that of Lord Howe's own family. When Prof. Owen wrote his monograph he had a letter from the head of that house at that time, in which he says: "It is clearly proved that the idea of removing the remains was given up for the purpose of burying the same in Westminster Abbey, and this tends to show that there must have been some difficulty in finding where the remains were laid."

It has been asked, why, if Lord Howe was buried at Ticonderoga, General Amherst did not remove the remains when he was here the next year. The answer to this question is easy. The soldiers who were with Amherst were largely different men from those who were with Abercromby. Amherst brought with him

five or six regiments from Louisburgh, and very likely General Amherst had read the original of General Abercromby's report, and supposed that Lord Howe was buried at Albany.

Again, it has been suggested that the name of Trout Brook on the Lord Howe stone is suspicious because this country at the time of Lord Howe's death was occupied by the French and a stream like Trout Brook would not be likely to have an English name, but this is answered by the fact that the English maps made at the time or soon after Abercromby's expedition, have on them the name Trout Brook.

Here, where Lord Howe gave up his life for that British and American cause, which it took the struggles of an hundred fifty years to carry through, his the most priceless of its many sacrifices, on the very spot where his immortality was achieved, between the two lakes, near to the great carry long traversed by the armies of France and England, and war parties, Iroquois and Algonquins, in the midst of a region of picturesque beauty and of a romantic interest that his own fame has helped to create, he has his burial place, as it is most fitting that he should. Fair flower of British gentility, the freshness and fragrance of thy memory, shall never pass in the hearts of those who love the Champlain Valley or the story of North America.

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